# HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVIII, No. 13 Copyright 1968 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC. March 30, 1968 35¢


## Senator to Support D.C. March

# Kennedy and King Form Political Alliance

By PAUL SCOTT

Sen. Robert Kennedy is counting on Dr. Martin Luther King's forthcoming invasion of Washington to give his presidential ambitions a big lift.

With his full approval, Kennedy's closest political lieutenants are passing the word to give the anti-war leader's "poor army" campaign in Washington all the support King requests.

In addition to deciding to endorse publicly the "announced objectives" of King's drive, Kennedy has instructed aides to help King raise money and organize a broad coalition of Negroes, poor whites, students and anti-war groups.

**Under his carefully planned strategy, Kennedy plans to use this coalition to bolster his political strength at the Chicago convention, hopefully to help him seize control of the Democratic party and become its presidential nominee.**

Should this bold campaign strategy fail, the brother of the late President Kennedy is considering the fourth party route.

As worked out backstage between their advisers, the Kennedy-King political alliance will be built around the twin issues of "Peace and Prosperity."

In his coming confrontation with Congress and the Johnson Administration, King will try to spotlight these goals by pressing demands for swift approval of three proposals:

(1) A guaranteed annual income of $3,000 a year for all families; (2) a national emergency public works and reconstruction program, and (3) an end to the Viet Nam war, to pay for these programs.

While King stages his "demonstrations" and wages his campaign of "disruption" for these proposals, Sen. Kennedy will be spotlighting the same issues in his across-the-country campaign for a national political base.

**Aides of both Kennedy and King say they are counting on growing opposition to President Johnson, the Viet Nam war, and the worsening U.S. financial crisis to create conditions favorable for the formation of their broad-based political coalition.**

The proposed Kennedy-King timetable calls for organization of this new "united political front" by summer so Kennedy can use the movement to support his presidential nomination bid at the Democratic convention.

Already, one of Kennedy's political confidants, William J. vanden Heuvel, of New York, is at work helping King raise money for his massive demonstrations, which begin here in Washington April 22. They are scheduled to last until the two national political conventions convene in August.

King will then take his protesters to Miami and Chicago.

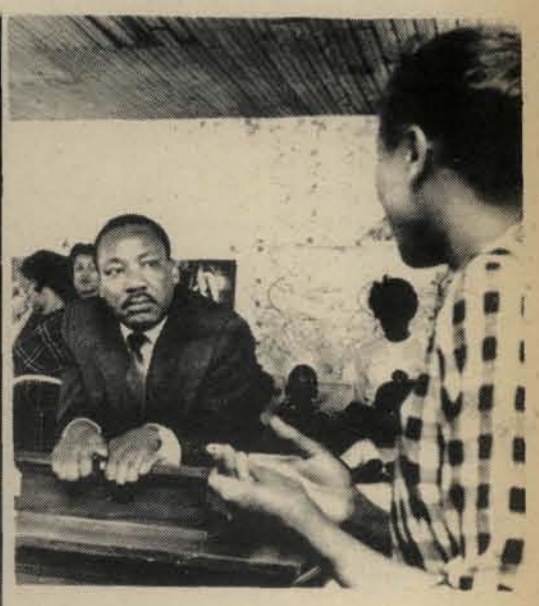
Vanden Heuvel, who served under Kennedy in the Justice Department, played a major role earlier this year in keeping King from supporting the candidacy of Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.).

In exchange for withholding his political commitment, King was given a pledge by Kennedy that he would support the organization of the new political coalition regardless of whether he sought the presidency in 1968.

Significantly, both Kennedy and King have been given assurances of support in the development of a broad-based political movement from Walter Reuther, powerful president of the United Auto Workers.

For several years Reuther has advocated such an alliance in order to force a drastic realignment of political power within both parties and Congress.

Like Kennedy and King, Reuther sees the coalition as the catalyst for effecting sweeping social changes in the country and forcing an end to the Viet Nam war.



**Sen. Kennedy is hoping to line up support from Negroes, poor whites, students and organized labor. Above, Dr. King talks with a Mississippi woman during one of his frequent forays into the South.**

★ ★ ★

Dr. Martin Luther King paid an interesting and unpublicized tribute recently to the late Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, the noted Communist Negro educator.

Speaking at a New York dinner honoring the DuBois Centennial year, King declared:

"We can't talk of Dr. DuBois without recognizing that he was a radical all of his life. Some people would like to ignore the fact that he was a Communist in later years. I never do. . . . It is time to cease muting the fact that Dr. DuBois was a genius and chose to be a Communist. Our irrational, obsessive anti-communism has led us into too many quagmires."

★ ★ ★

Former Presidential Assistant Richard Goodwin is serving as Sen. Kennedy's main political link with Sen. Eugene McCarthy. A ghost writer for both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Goodwin is now writing political speeches for McCarthy. He also advises Sen. Kennedy.

Mary Brooks, assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee, predicts that suburbia will be the battleground in this year's presidential election. "The Democrats have their newly created Division of Suburban Services. The AFL-CIO," she pointed out in an interview, "has a suburban program too, because so many of their members are moving out of the inner city. We have our Hi-Neighbor program. Both parties plan to spend double the amount of money in the suburbs as in 1964."

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NEWSPAPER

**Exclusive**

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**Two-Price Gold Only Stopgap**

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Democrats are saying they will have to select a presidential candidate among **three birds** this year: a hawk, a dove and a vulture.

● The **House Committee on Un-American Activities** has decided to hold hearings on Defense Department security procedures this week, with the case of Robert Arthur Niemann to be a major part of the probe. Human Events helped to spark the impending hearings by uncovering the fact that Niemann was receiving a "secret clearance" to work on defense projects even after he had joined the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, was active in the radical SNCC organization and acknowledged having associated with known Communists in various political projects.

● Sen. **Thomas Kuchel** (R.-Calif.), faced with a tough race against School Superintendent Max Rafferty, is hoping to get Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen to endorse him in the primary campaign. (See story on the Kuchel-Rafferty race, page 8).

● Who said it department: "We are going to win in Viet Nam. We will remain here until we do win. . . . I think the United States will do what is necessary to help a country that is trying to repel aggression with its own blood, tears and sweat." Answer: **Bobby Kennedy** (Feb. 18, 1962).

● Pro-Johnson **Democrats in California** say the party machinery is in shambles and that as of now Bobby Kennedy will top LBJ in the primary, with LBJ second and McCarthy third. If that happens, McCarthy will probably drop out of the race completely.

● Gov. **Ronald Reagan** will come under sharp attack from right-winger Kent Steffgen in a book to be published April 30 by Forsythe Books, in Reno, Nev. The book is called "Here's the Rest of Him." Two manuscripts have been sent to Cosmetic King William Penn Patrick who heads up Holiday Magic in San Rafael, Calif. Patrick is a millionaire who has been dabbling in right-wing politics for several years.

● **April 22** appears to be a big day in the lives of leftists. Dr. Martin Luther King has decided to launch his crusade for "poor people" in Washington, D.C., on that date and radical students propose to lead anti-war demonstrations at the same time. Back in 1936 the Communists led a half-million students in another anti-war strike in the United States. The day was April 22. Still another interesting coincidence: Nikolai Lenin was born in 1870—on April 22.

● Just prior to Rockefeller's drop-out last week, Mayor **John Lindsay** urged some 3,000 students at Queens College to join the "resistance movements" in both the Democratic and Republican parties and predicted that Rockefeller would lead the Republican resistance to the war in Viet Nam.

● Midwest congressmen are reporting that they are receiving substantial mail in opposition to the "**open housing**" **legislation** just passed by the Senate.

● Two of the regularly scheduled programs pre-empted for Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller**'s candidate-status announcement were: "The Newlywed Game" and "Love Is a Many Splendored Thing."

● A top-ranking anti-poverty official has quit his Philadelphia post, charging that the federally funded program is "**manipulated by politicians** and has little real regard for the worth and dignity of the people it claims to be serving." Walter R. Jones, who helped direct the Philadelphia program, declared sadly that the whole operation was operated by political hacks motivated by "political expedience rather than the needs of the poor."

● Prominent diplomatic experts in Washington believe that, despite Viet Nam, the free world might find itself obtaining **a few anti-Communist victories** in the Soviet bloc nations. According to these experts, the unrest sweeping the satellites reveals a "pre-revolutionary" condition that could end in a number of Eastern European nations violently shaking themselves loose from Soviet control.

● Even **Hugo Black** is disgusted by the Supreme Court's attitude on soaring crime. In a blistering dissent the 82-year-old one-time liberal last week accused his colleagues of "hobbling law enforcement" by "justice-defeating" procedures that favor criminals. The veteran justice entered his objections to a court decision reversing the conviction of a Chicago bank robber on technicalities.

● The bible of the New Left, San Francisco's **Ramparts magazine**, is on the rocks. Its pro-Arab slant has repulsed Jewish fat cats and distribution of the March issue was held up by lack of support. Insiders report the magazine could go under "at any moment."

● The Communists say their new paper, the **Daily World**, is scheduled to go to press May 1. The paper will be an eight-page tabloid appearing Monday through Friday with a 16- to 24-page weekend edition. Joseph Brandt, business manager of the present twice-a-week Worker, says the daily will cost 10¢, the weekend edition, 15¢. Projected circulation is 10,000 daily and 20,000 on Sunday.

● During the recent **gold crisis**, American tourists and businessmen found their dollars spurned in London and on the continent. Hotels, shops and banks that normally accept dollar currency, traveler's checks, personal checks or credit cards rejected them as no good.

● The presidential candidate of the **Socialist Workers party**, a cited subversive group, plans a Viet Nam campaign trip to solicit support among U.S. GIs. Fred Halstead told New York backers that he would visit the front to agitate for a "full withdrawal" from Viet Nam.




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## Rocky's Still In

"Don't be fooled by Rocky's bowing out speech; he still desperately wants to grab hold of the brass ring in Miami." Such is the thinking of Capitol Hill politicos who are well aware that New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's desire to be President of the United States has not yet been extinguished.

ROCKEFELLER

Rocky has still left the door open for a draft at the Republican convention and his "non-campaign" for the presidency will consist of trying to influence the Republican platform and persuading delegates that his views on the world situation are preferable to those of Nixon's.

Rocky has already made it plain that he is for the recommendations made in the Kerner Commission riot report and that he is more dovish than either Nixon or LBJ.

Some politicos are saying that Rocky may even "reassess" his candidacy status again if it looks as if LBJ will be the Democratic nominee and Bobby makes it clear he won't start a third party. At such a point, it is said, Rocky might re-enter the campaign more vigorously to convince delegates that he can capture the dovish sentiment in the country whereas the more "hawkish" Nixon won't be able to.

Rocky is hoping to enhance his peace posture in the weeks ahead in case of just such an eventuality, it is believed. For this reason he has permitted the dovish Gen. James Gavin, also a favorite of the Kennedys, to flutter closely about him in full view of the public.

**Nevertheless, Rocky's obvious fear of facing Nixon in the primaries has dealt a severe blow to the liberal wing of the Republican party. His chances for the "draft" have been considerably reduced, with Republican liberals like Senators Hugh Scott, Clifford Case and Jacob Javits all wringing their hands in horror.**

Some liberal Republicans are even shifting their sights to such low-powered candidates like Sen. Charles Percy and Mayor John Lindsay.

Though many liberals are disappointed in the Rock's failure to run at this time, Rockefeller, himself, realized that "Quite frankly, I find it clear at this time that a considerable majority of the party's leaders want the candidacy of Vice President Richard Nixon."

Only a few governors and senators ever really rallied to the Rockefeller cause. The South is just not for him. Despite Sen. Percy's heading up of the Illinois delegation, Nixon sentiment is rampant among the state's delegates. Nineteen of Michigan's 20 Republican state senators had announced for Nixon—and Michigan is Romney territory.

The California poll released last week revealed Nixon with 49 per cent of the vote to 29 per cent for the New York governor, an increase of seven percentage points for Nixon since January and a drop of one point for Rockefeller.

All in all, Rocky's bow out was a bad day for the liberals and Nixon looks all but in. Nevertheless, the pro-Rocky forces are still expected to make at least one more major effort to dump Nixon before the close of the Miami convention.

## Reds Harpoon U.S. Fishermen

The agreement over fishing rights near the U.S. coast that the Johnson Administration signed with the Soviet Union and which went into effect January 1 has directly resulted in a huge drop in catches for New Jersey fishermen. The executive agreement, reported in *Human Events*, Dec. 23, 1967, allows Russian vessels to come within the 12-mile territorial water limit off New Jersey to refuel and process their catches on large factory ships.

With this added advantage, the gigantic Soviet fishing fleets, sometimes numbering over 200 ships, are able to rake in larger catches and totally outclass the smaller and older privately owned American vessels. The outcome, according to Jersey seamen, is a drop in catches ranging from 50 to 80 per cent and a depletion in fish stock. Two types of fish that previously constituted the mainstay of the Jersey fishing industry, porgies and whiting, are now reportedly almost extinct.

**THIS WEEK'S NEWS**

**from**

**INSIDE WASHINGTON**

**The lopsided competition between the Soviet behemoths and American trawlers was put in these words by one Jersey fisherman: "They won't give ground to our ships. It's like having a bus and a sports car come in an intersection at the same time. The little guy gets out of the way."**

While government officials generally point to the Soviets' cooperation with the treaty, there have been some violations. In return for being able to come inside the 12-mile limit, the Russians agreed in the treaty to stay out of an area off Long Island called the Hudson Canyon during certain months of the year when the fish were spawning.

Twice during January the Coast Guard spotted a total of 11 Soviet fishing vessels in the restricted areas. In both instances only a protest was filed with the Russian Embassy in Washington, although the agreement permits an American party to board deliquent vessels. On a third occasion, February 3, a giant Soviet factory-like processing ship was discovered in the restricted area and a boarding party was sent aboard; the Russian captain pleaded ignorance of the local topography and agreed to move out.

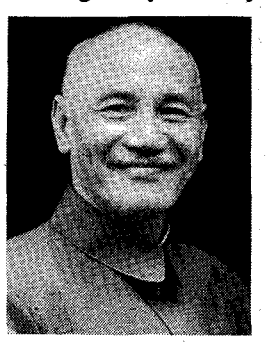
An incident involving a solitary American fishing captain occurred off Cape May in early March. Eligio Coppa, skipper of the 42-foot "Sun Pal," had his fishing lines cut when a 300-foot Soviet trawler crossed over them some 17 miles from shore. Coppa, who said Russian ships had been following him all day, was not sure that the line-cutting incident was an accident.

Such incidents notwithstanding, the major damage to private U.S. operators is the Soviets' ability, with their large ships and massive fleets, to vacuum the ocean, scooping up all the fish in sight. This operation leaves little left over for the American fishermen and their economy is being sorely depressed. This is the principal reason why some officials acquainted with the situation, such as New Jersey's Fish and Game Council David Hart, would like the federal government to move the territorial limit for foreign fishing vessels out to 100 miles from shore.

The U.S. government, however, seems far more concerned with appeasing the Soviet Union, Hanoi's chief supplier in the war in Viet Nam, than it does in looking out for the welfare of American fishermen.

## Proposed Taiwan Sellout

Diplomatic experts in Washington put more than a small dose of credence in an alarming story filed by columnist Jack Anderson from Taipei, Formosa. Anderson reported last week "in the strictest secrecy, the United States is preparing to ask Chiang Kai-shek to withdraw his troops from the two offshore islands, Quemoy and Matsu, only three and 12 miles off the Chinese mainland."



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Anderson said the reasoning behind this is that our strategists feel compelled by the demands of the Viet Nam war to put the squeeze on military expenditures in other areas and have decided that millions could be saved by pulling back from the offshore islands. The possibility of such a move, said Anderson, "first came up at a secret strategy meeting in Honolulu on January 11. Robert Barnett, speaking for the State Department, complained that the cost of defending the islands was too great a drain."

Following this meeting, said Anderson, the Defense Department, considering only the defense uses of the offshore islands, prepared a system analysis on how to cut Chiang's forces and save money. The secret analysis concluded the islands could be written off.

"Several substantial reductions could be made in GRC [Government of the Republic of China] naval forces were it to negotiate with the CPR [Chinese People's Republic] an offshore island settlement," the analysis declared.

Anderson's documented story has been extremely unsettling to the Nationalist Chinese and free Asians, for both these islands are looked upon as vital intelligence gathering outposts for the free world on Red Chinese activities. Moreover, several hundred thousand Red Chinese troops are pinned down in the coastal area opposite Quemoy and Matsu to make sure the Nationalists won't launch an invasion from those islands.

**The U.S. "country team," representing both the American embassy and our military at Taipei, has also taken vigorous exception to abandonment of the islands, pointing out that they not only provide "in depth" defense for Formosa but are a "daily reminder" to Red China that it does not dominate the entire Chinese world.**

Reaction to Anderson's report from U.S. officials, however, has been less than reassuring. The State Department declined to comment directly on the story. It said no formal request has been made for such action concerning the islands, but Press Officer Robert J. McCloskey brushed aside questions about whether such a move had been considered.

Government officials nonetheless concede that technical studies have been done recently within the government on the impact of a withdrawal of Chinese Nationalist troops from both Quemoy and Matsu.

Sources close to the Nationalist Chinese say they are convinced that while no final decision may have been made, serious talk of abandoning these free world outposts has been going on. Furthermore, the talk apparently stems from the old Institute of Pacific Relations crowd that still has a strong hand in shaping America's Asian policy. (The IPR, which was proved to be Communist-infiltrated, was this country's most influential organization on Far Eastern affairs after World War II, and steered the United States away from Chiang Kai-shek and toward

• *The Kerner Commission maintains there is "no evidence" that last summer's riots were the product of a conspiracy. But a recent trial in New Haven, scene last summer of a tumultuous riot, would indicate otherwise. Two black nationalists—Ronald Johnson and Harry Bonner—were convicted of conspiracy to blow up public buildings and assassinate top city officials, including Mayor Richard Lee. The two face a maximum sentence of 15 years in prison and a $5,000 fine.*



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Mao Tse-tung.) The IPR gang has long advocated appeasing Communist China through the abandonment of the offshore islands.

**Nor does it seem much of a coincidence that the man who reportedly brought up the subject of abandoning them at the Honolulu meeting was Robert W. Barnett, deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.**

Long considered a "soft-on-Red China type," he is the brother of A. Doak Barnett, who in 1966 told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he was for ending Red China's "isolation" by bringing it into the United Nations.

Robert Barnett, himself, was once secretary to the Washington Institute of Pacific Relations and affiliated with *Amerasia*, a publication run by IPR officials and whose editor turned out to be a Communist. During the 1940s, Barnett, according to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, took a "pro-Communist" position in regard to Red China.

Whatever the result of the Defense Department survey, Asian anti-Communists are stunned that such high-ranking government officials would currently be thinking of appeasing Communist China at this time in history. In their view, it once again reveals the complete untrustworthiness of the current U.S. government.

## Joe Clark's Ethics

As the Senate was debating a code of conduct for its members last week, politicos could not help but be amused as they watched Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) neatly deflate Pennsylvania's pompously self-righteous Joseph Clark (D.).

CLARK

Up for re-election this year, Clark was making all sorts of self-serving statements about the vital need for the Senate to reform and to restore its reputation with a strict code of ethics. Clark insisted it was urgent that not only senators but Senate officers and employes making over $15,000 should publicly disclose their entire assets and liabilities. To goad the lawmakers into "ethics action," he placed into the *Congressional Record* sharply worded editorials regarding the slowness of senators to establish strict ethical standards.

**Curtis, however, found Clark's action somewhat curious. He could not understand why the Pennsylvania patrician was so eager for full public disclosure now, at election time, but was not so zealous about disclosure during the Bobby Baker case.**

Curtis recalled that a number of senators were eager to have the testimony of one Jessop McDonnell, who had been an assistant to Baker and perhaps could have furnished some significant piece of evidence. "There was a motion made to call him," said Curtis wryly, but the "senator from Pennsylvania voted against it."

Democratic fund-raiser Matthew McCloskey, Curtis continued, could have given the Senate some valuable evidence on wrongdoing. There was testimony that "there was a meeting here in the Capitol. They [Baker and McCloskey] discussed the bonding for the contractor when they built the D.C. Stadium with taxpayer money. There was a discussion about the division of the commission. The record shows an employe of the House got $1,500. The record shows Baker got $4,000 out of it.

"We asked to call Mr. McCloskey. The senator from Pennsylvania voted 'no.'"

Paul Aguirre, Curtis went on, was a business associate of Baker. A motion was made to call him as a witness. "The distinguished senator from Pennsylvania voted 'no'; yet he comes in here today with an amendment that would tell everybody who works for the Senate, who makes over a certain figure, that he must disclose all his assets and all his debts."

Warren Neil was another business associate of Baker's that Clark voted against calling up for questioning; Clark also vetoed the call up of LBJ aide Walter Jenkins even though Jenkins had been closely linked to a malodorous kickback deal involving Baker and LBJ.

When Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R.-Ky.) suggested the committee probing Baker call up Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), an expert on Baker's affairs, Clark nixed Williams' appearance also. Clark, in fact, had nearly called Williams a liar in the Baker affair. But when Williams confronted Clark on the Senate floor and asked him to point out his mistakes, Clark scampered out of the Senate chamber like a jack rabbit.

Clark, of course, is all for reform now that he faces what promises to be a tough primary and a tough election. But when he had a chance to really explore corrupt practices in the government which might have damaged the reputation of several senators and scores of Democrats, he pointedly refused to do so.

## 'Student' Strike in Offing

House probers have uncovered voluminous evidence that hard-core Communists are mapping disruptive new protests against U.S. policy in Viet Nam. The demonstrations, scheduled for April 21-30, include student strikes on college and high school campuses on April 26, and worldwide protests the following day.

Chairman Edwin Willis (D.-La.) of the House Committee on Un-American Activities said the protests were mapped in Chicago January 27-29 by Marxist organizers who set up the "Student Mobilization Committee in United Front."

**"The Communist party, W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, Students for a Democratic Society and the Trotskyite Communist splinter groups are combining their agitational talents in promoting an SDS-sponsored 10 days of demonstrations," Willis said.**

"The same old faces who were involved in the April 15, 1967, flag burning demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco, and the October 21 melee at the Pentagon, are again prominent in both organizing and coordinating the April demonstrations this year."

These "old faces" include identified Communists Phyllis Kalb, Kipp Dawson, Alex Chernowitz and Bettina Aptheker. Miss Aptheker, the Mobilization's "titular head," is a member of the Communist Party National Committee.

Willis said that other groups participating in the January planning session included the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; the Committee for Nonviolent Action; the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party; the Harlem Black Anti-Draft Union; the Veterans for Peace in Viet Nam; and the University Christian Movement.

Willis said the demonstrations will be watched carefully by Moscow and Hanoi:

"If the Communists are successful in inducing a significant number of college and high school students to strike on April 25 and to partake in the mass disruptive actions on April 27—for whatever reasons—the international Communist propaganda network will use this incident to attempt to: first, create widespread public demand for reversal of present U.S. foreign policy; second, propagandistically give aid and comfort to Communists everywhere, but particularly in Viet Nam; and third, further dampen the resolve of America's allies who presently support U.S. policy in Viet Nam. . . ."

## LBJ Rewards Cronies

LBJ, who invented the anti-poverty program, is never one to overlook a fellow in desperate need. Not too long ago he revealed his warm heart by appointing Simon McHugh, the husband of one of LBJ's pretty ex-private secretaries, to a cushy $26,000-a-year job on the Subversive Activities Control Board.

McHugh was manifestly unfit for the work, possessing neither a legal background nor expertise in security matters, but the President showed his compassion by selecting him anyway. Later on LBJ managed to slip through a Democratic-controlled Congress legislation that gave his old crony Judge Paul Kilday an $8,400 per annum retirement bonus.

Pending on the Senate calendar now is a new "anti-poverty" piece of legislation (HR 5789) to extend a helping hand to Charles Englehard, a multi-millionaire friend of the President who lives in Far Hills, N.J., and accompanied LBJ on the President's around-the-world trip last December.

**Sen. John Williams, Delaware's super-sleuth, has told his colleagues that the Johnson Administration is "desperately trying to obtain congressional approval" of this bill which will permit Englehard to reap part of a $12-million platinum windfall.**

Under this measure the government plans to sell approximately 115,000 troy ounces of platinum in the nations' stockpile at below market prices to two companies, Matthey Bishop, Inc., Malvery, Pa., and Englehard Minerals & Chemicals Corp., 113 Astor Street, Newark, N.J. Charles Englehard controls the New Jersey firm.

Williams has blasted this scheme as a monstrous "giveaway." The Administration, he points out, is planning to negotiate this sale at a price ranging between $109 to $112 per unit. Why, he asks, shouldn't these companies have to bid on this platinum rather than receive it at less than market prices?

As a result of wartime conditions, says Williams, these minerals are in scarce supply and the government has a profit potential, but instead of taking this profit, they plan to siphon it back to American industry as a fat windfall.

"By what line of reasoning," asks Williams, "does the Johnson Administration consider it a crime to save $12 million for the American taxpayer?" Apparently the line of reasoning is that Charles Englehard is a good friend of LBJ's.

## Wirtz' Office Party

Rep. William J. Scherle (R.-Iowa) has scored Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz' reaction to a local anti-poverty youth group that ransacked Wirtz' office recently as "a perfect example of why there is a general breakdown of law and order in our society.

WIRTZ

"It is incredible enough that a gang of hoodlums should be allowed to run rampant through Wirtz' office, destroying taxpayers' property and stealing personal possessions," Scherle told the House. "But it is even more incredible that a high government official would tolerate such a situation and reward this gang by promising support to obtain federal money to meet their demands."

Some 100 youths from the Neighborhood Development Youth Program, run by Washington's United Planning Organization, recently forced their way into the labor secretary's private offices seeking a restoration of funds for their dying anti-poverty program.

In the course of a 2½-hour sit-in while the secretary was at the White House negotiating on the copper strike, the youths rifled Wirtz' desk and briefcases, stole some personal mementoes, scattered cigar ashes over his Oriental-type rug, broke ashtrays and glasses, and strewed stationery and official documents on the floor. The "kids" finally left after a series of Wirtz aides talked with them.

Wirtz initially said he was just "plain mad" at what the youths had done, but later he said he would do what he could to get them some funds. Wirtz decided to go to bat for the money even though the group is subsidized by governmental agencies other than the Department of Labor.



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# POLITICS '68

## ACA

Americans for Constitutional Action, the conservative group which concentrates on campaign assistance and voting ratings of Congress, has released its ratings for 1967 congressional voting and found "there is absolutely no question that the House of Representatives is **increasingly more responsive** to a concerned America." The outlook in the Senate is also bright. (For the full ratings see Human Events last week, page 12.)

This **optimism concerning the House** is borne out of ACA's average figures. "In our ratings for the 1965 session," says ACA Executive Director Charles McManus, "the average score for all members of the House—Republicans and Democrats—was 38.9 per cent. In the 1966 session the average jumped to 43.8 per cent, and now in the current 1967 analysis the average is **48.4 per cent.**"

Broken down further into party voting, ACA reports that "the average ACA rating of House Republicans has risen to 80.24 per cent in 1967 and the average of House Democrats has remained relatively constant below 30 per cent, leveling off at 24.32 per cent in the current 1967 ratings." But concerning this non-conservative, "**hard-core ultra-liberal bloc**," Mr. McManus notes that "back in 1965 ACA gave zero ratings to a total of 44 House members, all Democrats, but this number has now dwindled in the 1967 session to 33 House members, all Democrats."

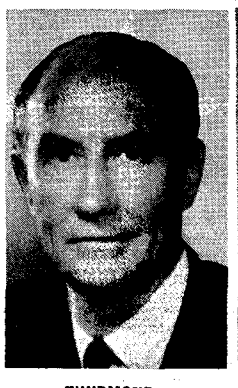
On the **Senate side** the over-all average for 1967 was 39.83 per cent, with Democrats checking in with a low 25.45 per cent and Republican senators accumulating a 65.39 per cent score. In sum, there were 30 senators (20 of them GOP) who voted conservative at least 65 per cent of the time.

Viewing the results of its ratings, the ACA believes "conservatives would gain **control of the House of Representatives** in the November elections by an addition of only 26 such members to constitute a voting strength of 218 in the 435-member body."

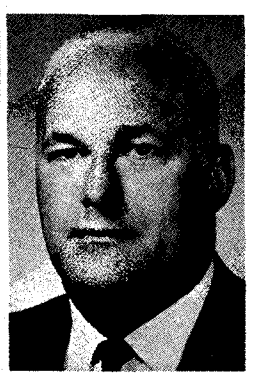
Following is a list of the members of Congress who racked up perfect 100 per cent ACA ratings and those who rated a round zero:

Four senators and nine congressmen received 100 per cent ACA ratings for the first session of the 90th Congress. All Republicans, they were: Senators John Williams (Del.), Carl Curtis (Neb.), Roman Hruska (Neb.) and Strom Thurmond (S.C.), and Representatives Burke (Fla.), Gurney (Fla.), McClure (Idaho), Roudebush (Ind.), Curtis (Mo.) Scherle (Iowa), Battin (Mont.), Ashbrook (Ohio) and Bow (Ohio).

At the other end of the scale, 12 senators and 33 House members, all Democrats, received zero ratings. They were Senators Daniel Inouye (Hawaii), Daniel Brewster (Md.), Edward Kennedy (Mass.), Philip Hart (Mich.), Walter Mondale (Minn.), Edward Long (Mo.), Harrison Williams (N.J.), Claiborne Pell (R.I.), Fred Harris (Okla.), Ralph Yarborough (Tex.), Henry Jackson (Wash.) and Gale McGee (Wyo.).



THURMOND



SCHERLE

House members getting goose eggs from ACA were: Edwards (Calif.), Hanna (Calif.), Miller (Calif.), Van Deerlin (Calif.), Corman (Calif.), King (Calif.), Roybal (Calif.), Rogers (Colo.), Fascell (Fla.), Gibbons (Fla.), Matsunaga (Hawaii), Annunzio (Ill.), Dawson (Ill.), Kluczynski (Ill.), Ronan (Ill.), Rostenkowski (Ill.), Yates (Ill.), Boggs (La.), Friedel (Md.), Howard (N.J.), Celler (N.Y.), Kelly (N.Y.), Ashley (Ohio), Albert (Okla.), Brooks (Tex.), Kazen (Tex.), Patman (Tex.), Hicks (Wash.) and Hechler (W. Va.).

## KENNEDY

"I thought he'd have a stroke." That's how one aide described Bobby Kennedy's reaction to the **full-page advertisement** placed last week in the New York Times by Rep. **Joseph Resnick** (D.-N.Y.).

KENNEDY

Resnick, a Viet Nam hawk who seeks his party's senatorial nomination to oppose Jacob Javits, lashed out at Bobby in an extraordinary ad that he paid for out of his own pocket. Across the top of the page were the words "**The Loser.**" Beneath was a detailed analysis showing that Kennedy's much-vaunted vote-getting appeal is a fraud. Resnick pointed out:

• In 1964 Bobby ran nearly two million votes behind the top of the Democratic ticket. "Obviously Bobby didn't win that race," Resnick chortled. "Lyndon Baines Johnson won it for him."

"Has he turned into a winner since 1964? **New Hampshire Democrats** had precisely the same opportunity to write in Kennedy's name as they did Lyndon Johnson's. Here are their respective write-in votes: Johnson, 29,021; Kennedy, 600."

"What's more, Kennedy knows he's a loser. That's why he is avoiding the **Wisconsin primary** in April. This may well be the first time in history that a candidate has simultaneously announced both his presidential ambitions and refused to enter the next available presidential primary."

Resnick accused Kennedy of **hypocrisy**, quoting a gushing tribute he paid LBJ only nine months ago. He said that Bobby had sabotaged—"by inactivity and indifference"—the last two Democratic nominees for New York mayor and governor.

"In both cases the senator's motivation was to keep good Democrats from rising to the top where they could threaten his **control of the party machinery** and, particularly, his control of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention," Resnick charged. "Let us remember, the senator has had his eye on the presidency for a long time."

At week's end no **U.S. newspaper** had endorsed Bobby Kennedy for President. Most editorial comment was sharply critical, with "cynical" and "opportunistic," two frequently used adjectives.

Actually, some of Bobby's best press has appeared on the pages of **Izvestia**, the official Kremlin organ. In a gushing "analysis" last December, Izvestia said that Bobby was "waiting for his hour" to challenge LBJ. The Red rag said that millions of Americans had placed their hopes on Kennedy because of his progressive views on Viet Nam and other issues.

## HAWAII

Hawaii's Republican party, long an impotent threat to the 50th state's domineering and dominating Democrats, are believed to be paving the way for a comeback. The first step on this journey, state GOP leaders hope, will be to recapture the **state senate** this year and higher offices in 1970 and '72.

The present lineup in the senate is 15 to 10 in favor of the Democrats, but Republican officials see two GOP contenders a "**cinch**" to defeat Democratic incumbents this year, and two others as "**strong contenders.**" If Republicans do win the minimal three seats necessary for a majority, it would mark the first time since 1954 the GOP held sway in the Hawaii state senate.

Elsewhere, Republicans must be content with step-by-step gains and future victory. The alignment in the state **house of representatives** is Democratic by a 39-to-12 margin, and only one member of Hawaii's congressional delegation, Sen. **Hiram Fong**, is a Republican.

But GOP hopes are buoyed by the fact that in 1966 its gubernatorial candidate, **Randolph Crossley**, came within 4,500 votes of upsetting incumbent Democratic Gov. John Burns. Crossley and his running-mate for lieutenant governor, Dr. George Mills, remain active in state politics and are proven vote getters.

Additionally, the Hawaii GOP thinks it has a top-notch issue in fiscal management. Under Democratic administrations, **Hawaiians' tax burden** has risen until it now ranks second highest in the United States, with state income tax levies ranging from 2¼ to 11 per cent and a 4 per cent sales tax. As a result of the overtaxing, in fiscal 1968 Hawaii had a budget surplus of more than $25 million. Republican legislative candidates are running this year on a platform pledged to repeal the unnecessary sales tax.

The tax situation, together with **complacency and apathy** among state Democrats, is the prime factor causing Hawaii's victory-hungry GOP to anticipate bigger meals in November 1968 and the years immediately ahead.

## OREGON

As a result of Eugene McCarthy's New Hampshire success and expected good showing against LBJ in the Wisconsin primary, and with Bobby Kennedy's entry into the fray, Oregon's **May 28 primary** has taken on crucial importance for these two candidates and the object of both their assaults: President Johnson. On the other side of the ballot, in what had once been anticipated as a major GOP presidential showdown, Richard Nixon apparently has the field to himself.

Oregon Secretary of State Clay Myers had entered the names of **eight potential candidates** on the primary ballot: Republicans Nixon, Rockefeller, Reagan and Percy, and Democrats Johnson, Kennedy, McCarthy and Wallace. Rocky and Percy have withdrawn their names, and Alabama's Wallace is not expected to campaign in the primary, but will have his name entered in Oregon as a third-party presidential contestant in the fall. Although supporters of California Gov. Reagan plan to campaign for him in Oregon, the governor claims he will not take part in the effort and says the only reason he is not filing the non-candidacy affidavit is that to do so would legally compromise his official position as "favorite son" of the California GOP convention delegation.

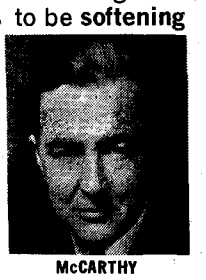
The **three-way Democratic race** is up in the air. Before announcing his belated candidacy, Kennedy was told by Oregon's anti-Viet Nam Sen. Wayne Morse that, with Bobby and McCarthy both running as "doves," the Oregon "peace" vote would be split and LBJ would "undoubtedly" win.

Oregon voters, however, are notoriously dovish, having sent Morse and his Republican Viet Nam bedfellow Mark Hatfield to the Senate, and may have **enough anti-Johnson votes** to go around. Kennedy is helped by having a savvy state chairman, former Rep. **Charles Porter**, and a semblance of an organization left over from 1960. Likewise, McCarthy may appeal strongly to Oregonians' tendency to back the underdog and their apparent liking for highly independent politicians (something that has kept Morse in office).

On the other hand, Lyndon Johnson is not helped by the fact that the campaign on his behalf is late-starting and has yet to attract any prominent Oregon Democrats. His strategists appear confident that the **McCarthy-Kennedy face-off**, their first on the primary trail, will allow LBJ to run off with Oregon's 35 convention delegate votes.

## McCARTHY

Democratic presidential challenger Eugene McCarthy appears to be **softening his vow** to make no concessions to Bobby Kennedy in their tandem campaign against incumbent Lyndon Johnson. Previously McCarthy had declared he was "in the race to stay" but that if his effort failed to dislodge LBJ he would simply release delegates pledged to him, allowing them to support whomever they pleased.



McCARTHY

Now, however, McCarthy admits that if it became clear the Democratic National Convention would not nominate him, he would back Kennedy. Kennedy, however, has made **no similar concession** to McCarthy.

"I would have to support him," the Minnesota senator told a Washington audience last week. "Our positions are the same on most issues." McCarthy still maintained that no "deals" had been worked out with the Kennedy camp and that he still intended to go all-out in his **anti-Viet Nam campaign.**

One state in which McCarthy is already feeling the heat and pressure of the forceful Kennedy bid is **South Dakota.** The day after Kennedy announced he was "reassessing" his non-candidate status, McCarthy had revealed his entry into the June 4 South Dakota primary; last week he said only that he was "considering" entering the contest, saying his previous declaration may have been overstated.

## CAPSULES

• No matter which Democratic presidential contender wins Oregon's May 28 primary, the state's Democratic organization has already gone on record in **vehement opposition to the Viet Nam war.** The Oregon Democratic convention last week unanimously passed a strong resolution calling for the United States "to terminate hostilities and to seek a meaningful and negotiated peace in Viet Nam without initiating further escalation."

• Whatever other positive qualities he may assert over his two rivals for the Democratic presidential nomination, Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** has established himself as the only "pauper" in the group. In a recent interview, the Minnesota Democrat revealed his total net worth was but $30,000, including real estate holdings of $27,000. Compared to millionaires Kennedy and Johnson, McCarthy should qualify as a "disaster area."



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# Let's Put First Things First

From the Chicago *Tribune*

*The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves . . .*

There is a tragic irony that a country and a people as great as the United States and the great body of energetic and resourceful Americans should find themselves in a dilemma which every day becomes more manifest.

**The greatest, richest, and most progressive nation in all history now stands like some ancient monument which is slowly eroding away under the action of the sands, the winds and the weather.**

This is a country whose gross national product in goods and services has reached a fantastic level of $825 billion. It is a country with more automobiles,

**Despite the war, President Johnson continues to come up with new election-year domestic spending programs.**

more telephones, more automatic appliances, more people living on a standard of comfort than any other in the world.

But it is a country sadly vexed and greatly beset. Its government has overspent its available revenues in 32 of the last 38 years. The national debt of $352 billion has increased $22 billion since a year ago. The value of the dollar in terms of purchasing power has fallen 60 per cent in 28 years. There are doubts throughout the world that the dollar is now a sound currency.

This suspicion is reflected in the great run on gold in world markets. It is reflected in the Administration's panicky effort to strip Federal Reserve notes in circulation of the mandatory 25 per cent gold cover. It is reflected again in the uneasy gyrations of the stock market, down sharply.

Very evidently, many people throughout the world think this country is going to the wall. Yet the Administration in Washington goes its unheeding way, planning spending of more than $186 billion in the coming fiscal year, with another deficit whose dimensions are still unknown but will certainly exceed the $8 billion predicted.

With $70 billion out the window in a feckless project styled a "War Against Poverty," with the costs of the war in Viet Nam mounting to a rate of at least $36 billion a year, the official gospel is still that we can have both guns and butter. This is government by the precept of good-time Charley.

**The time has come, is overdue, for a cold appraisal of where we are heading and what course must be followed to get back on our course. The endless dissipation of our substance on political frills and fads cannot be permitted to continue.**

The rathole operation known as foreign aid is a luxury which, in these circumstances, we cannot afford. Nor can we sustain the vague idealism of such excursions as the Peace Corps; Sargent Shriver's grab bag of good works, supposedly for the benefit of the poor but certainly in the interest of the bureaucracy; the construction of sport fisheries; and hardware to ogle the moon.

We should do as business does—set goals and priorities—and establish what can be managed and what cannot. The greatest harassment of our spirits, the greatest drain on our youth, and a great tax on our resources is the war in Asia. We must set the goal that we will clean up the infection within six months, instead of resigning ourselves to the terrible blood tribute of a war of attrition. We must resolve that we shall resort to any action necessary to bring an end to this running sore.

There are many other things we should do to get our house in order. We must end wasteful government, halt inflation, shore up the dollar, get out of the habit of unending debt, and get some determination in Washington that these things will be effected. One indispensable step, to begin with, would be the replacement of Secretary Henry H. Fowler, certainly one of the weakest officers ever to attempt to preside over the Treasury.

**If we will simply stop being a patsy, an easy mark for every supplicant and everybody with a hard luck story, we can recapture the destiny of this country.**

The resources are all there—an able people, intelligence to spare, the greatest productive plant in the world, and a land whose abundance is such that we are exporters to the world, we feed many of the world's peoples, and we have lent, or given, far more than $100 billion out of our surpluses, often none too wisely.

We have confidence that if all of us, as Americans, share a common resolution, this country will not fall, it will not go to the wall, it will redeem its failings, and it will go on to an even more boundless horizon. But first the effort must be made. It is not being made now.

***Post Office, Agriculture***

# Two Places to Cut Spending

The Council of State Chambers of Commerce has taken the Administration's proposed $186.1-billion budget for fiscal 1969, given it a couple of good whacks and come up with recommended budget cuts totaling $8 billion. These cuts are essential, the council believes, "if there is to be any assurance that such tax increase as may be enacted will indeed be temporary."

**A major portion of the proposed cut is in the area of federal personnel costs, specifically the Post Office Department and Department of Agriculture. For starters, the council advocates cutting in half the $1.6 billion included in the fiscal '69 budget to cover the second of the three-step federal pay increase, passed by Congress last December.**

This substantial $800-million cut could be accomplished in either of two ways, says a council report prepared by research director Eugene F. Rinta. "One approach calls for amending the existing pay increase law to moderate the scheduled increases. The other would require the departments and agencies to absorb a part of the increased costs by not filling a portion of the job vacancies which result from normal turnover, and by more efficient utilization of both civilian and military personnel."

After noting that the federal payroll has risen from $9.4 billion in 1954 to an estimated $23.2 billion for fiscal '69, the council pointed to the post office and agriculture department as specific examples of runaway payroll inflation.

"From fiscal 1954 through 1964," the council report shows, "postal service employment rose at about one-half the rate of increase in mail volume" (the approximate number of pieces of mail handled). In this period employment rose 16.1 per cent and mail volume increased 33.4 per cent. In the next three years, however, the postal employment rate accelerated to the point that it passed the rate of mail volume increase.

Between 1964 and 1967, the council reports, the amount of mail handled rose by 13.6 per cent, while employment rose 16.9 per cent. The proposed '69 budget indicates that this astounding ratio will be reduced somewhat, with the mail volume increase and employment rise percentage roughly similar, around 7.4-7.7 per cent. Such continuing increases in the post office's personnel ranks is the reason the State Chambers Council labels this Cabinet department a "major example of excessive employment growth" and strongly urges budget cuts.

Another such example is the Department of Agriculture, with the rate of personnel increase in Orville Freeman's domain almost as mind-boggling as that in the post office. According to the council's figures (which were, in turn, taken from the reports of the U.S. Civil Service Commission), the DOA's growth can be seen in the following figures:

- " . . . in January 1954 there was one Agriculture Department employe per 284 of farm population or one employe to every 72 farms."
- " . . . by January 1967 [there was] one Agriculture Department employe per 105 farm population, or one employe per 30 farms. As of January 1968 the ratio was one employe to every 28 farms."

The chamber then spells out its conclusion from these figures with a needling understatement:

**"The fact that Agriculture Department employment has risen 62 per cent since 1954 while the number of farms has declined 36 per cent and farm population has declined over 42 per cent clearly points to considerable overstaffing at the government service level."**

And this overstaffing, at the DOA, post office, and other government agencies, is one of the first areas, in the eyes of the Council of State Chambers of Commerce, where the Administration and Congress should begin their budget cutting.



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# Counsel for the Offense

## OEO's Legal Services Program Undermines Law and Order

By SHIRLEY SCHEIBLA

Reprinted with permission from Barron's *National Business and Financial Weekly*, March 4, 1968

President Johnson's riot commission has called for more anti-poverty programs as a means of forestalling riots. It has not bothered, however, to document its assumption that such programs will do this.

In this article Shirley Scheibla cogently explains how the federal "War on Poverty" actually is undermining law and order and causing riots. It is interesting to note that in Newark, where Mrs. Scheibla cites the worst offenses by anti-poverty workers, the commission ignored public documents available to it as well as her. Instead the commission accepted the official line of the Office of Economic Opportunity that anti-poverty workers labored valiantly to calm rioters.

In addition to being Associate Editor of Barron's **National Business & Financial Weekly**, Mrs. Scheibla is the author of a new book, "Poverty is Where the Money Is," to be published May 11 by Arlington House. She tells us that her book points out that Detroit has had the nation's biggest anti-poverty program and also the biggest riots.

In suits financed by the "War on Poverty," lawyers for the "poor" have sought to persuade U.S. district courts in Newark and Philadelphia to appoint federal receivers to run the local police departments as a means of eliminating "police brutality."

The Philadelphia suit also asked the court to nullify state laws against carrying concealed deadly weapons, sedition, riot, conspiracy, loitering and obstructing justice. The Newark case further calls for the court to direct the Newark police to cease engaging in "violence, intimidation and humiliation" and to stop compiling dossiers on civil rights groups.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover views the legal moves as part of a scheme to undermine and destroy local law enforcement and to substitute a national police force. "America," he declares, "has no place for, nor does it need, a national police force. . . . Law-abiding citizens and local officials should vigorously oppose concerted attacks against law enforcement and the devious moves to negate local authority and replace it with federal police power."

The cases are just two of a good many highly questionable moves that have been made under the Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In virtually every riot-torn city, LSP lawyers have devoted an extraordinary amount of time and money to defending alleged rioters. Evidence obtained by congressional investigators indicates that the director of Newark's LSP played a leading role in that city's riot last summer which resulted in 25 persons killed, 725 injured and property damage estimated at $10 million. (The Newark LSP says it "is a pioneer program.")

Newark policeman Leonard Kowalewski told the Senate Judiciary Committee he felt the racial disorders were prearranged.

**LSP personnel also have advocated non-cooperation with police, organized rent strikes, defended alleged dope addicts and challenged statutes aimed at discouraging immorality. With federal funds, they have launched a flood of suits against various government agencies, including the Department of Labor and local public housing authorities.**

And they are successfully using the courts to establish new welfare law which stresses the recipients' "rights." In addition, they have been accused of violating legal ethics and handling cases on behalf of those who could afford to retain their own counsel.

Nowhere is the program mentioned in the Economic Opportunity Act, or in any other law. OEO, however, sees LSP as a legitimate function of community action programs which the act does authorize.

The program at first won proponents with the idea that it would protect the poor against unscrupulous merchants, finance companies and slumlords. Public defenders and legal aid societies, said OEO officials, are chiefly concerned with criminal cases involving the poor as defendants. LSP, so the argument went, would give the poor the chance to initiate civil cases to redress legitimate grievances. Thus they would come to view the law as friend rather than enemy, and more of them would become law-abiding.

Through such arguments the LSP won endorsement by the American Bar Association and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, as well as many other distinguished judges and lawyers. With scant opposition, LSP was able to launch operations on a wide scale. Today some 1,800 lawyers, and numerous assistants, operate out of 850 offices in 48 states. No fees are charged; salaries for all are paid by OEO. It spent $27 million on LSP in fiscal '67 and has budgeted $36 million for it this fiscal year (and $42 million for next year).

As the program swings into action on a wide scale, however, the original intent has begun to change. Earl Johnson Jr., LSP director for OEO, states flatly, "The primary goal of the 'War on Poverty's' Legal Service Program should be law reform achieved by significant test cases that can revise the structure of the world in which the poor live."

In Newark, the program seems to have changed the city's structure. Here is the story of LSP work in that city, which so far has cost the U.S. $700,000. According to a staff report of the House Education and Labor Committee, last July 12 a cab driver named John William Smith was tailgating a police car and then passed it on the wrong side. When stopped, he responded with loud and obscene language. When he resisted arrest, police used force to subdue him.

Within an hour after Mr. Smith's arrest, a large crowd gathered outside the police station. According to OEO, Oliver Lofton, director of the Newark LSP, tried to persuade the crowd to turn its energies toward demonstrating peacefully at City Hall. However, both Newark Police Director Dominick Spina and Donald Malafronte, administrative assistant to Newark Mayor Hugh Addonizio, told House Committee investigators that Mr. Lofton harangued the crowd for 45 minutes on police brutality. Moments after his speech ended, the riots began. A Molotov cocktail landed on the police building, and the crowd threw stones and bottles at police cars.

Leonard Kowalewski, a Newark policeman and head of the New Jersey Fraternal Order of Policemen, gave details on Mr. Lofton's plans to move the demonstration to City Hall. Mr. Kowalewski testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee that within an hour after the cab driver's arrest 75 cabs lined up in the vicinity of the Fourth Precinct police station to carry people downtown. "Now I fail to understand," Mr. Kowalewski testified, "how you can get 75 taxicabs lined up within one hour if something or other wasn't pre-arranged."

Edward G. D'Allesandro, counsel to the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, Local No. 3, subsequently wrote the Essex County prosecutor that the organization of the demonstration so soon after the arrest of the cab driver gives "prima facie evidence of a design and plan."

While the Newark riots still raged, Washington's *Evening Star* quoted Mr. Lofton as saying they were caused by "racist, brutal white cops and a mayor who refused to work with poor, helpless, frustrated people." He added, according to the *Star*, that the riots "will be a solidifying factor for the Negro community." (At last report, the LSP was seeking signatures to a petition to remove the mayor from office.)

**Several days after the Newark disaster, Mr. Lofton declared on television: "I don't look upon the anti-social behavior as a riot. . . . We are now reaping the poison harvest of 300 years of history, and what we really see here is the voice of the people revolting against an unjust system. . . . If somebody doesn't get together and bring some pressure to bear upon that City Hall, we're going to have riot after riot in this city."**

Apparently ignoring the idea that the LSP was supposed to give free legal help to the poor primarily in civil cases, Mr. Lofton immediately offered its services to Mr. Smith, the cab driver. The latter accepted the offer and filed charges against the arresting policemen for kidnapping, filing a false police report, atrocious assault and battery and attempt to commit murder with a deadly weapon.

Mr. D'Alessandro noted, "The case of the cab driver is a criminal one, and the public defender would be the proper agency to represent indigents, if in fact John William Smith is indigent."

Continued on page 12


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RAFFERTY

# Rafferty vs. Kuchel

## *Catching the attention of the nation, an almost classic conservative-liberal confrontation will take place in California's June 4 senatorial primary*

KUCHEL

"That's quite a candidate we've talked to!"

This comment uttered last December came from one of the top political reporters in the country. The candidate was Dr. Max Rafferty, Superintendent of Public Instruction for California and a man then on the verge of challenging the Golden State's senior senator in the June primary.

The occasion was a small, informal luncheon at the National Press Club in Washington during which 11 of the shrewdest political analysts in town tried to find a chink in Dr. Rafferty's political armor. After one and a half hours of almost uninterrupted questioning, they ran out of questions and the unruffled doctor made a smiling departure for an appointment with a U.S. Department of Education official. No chinks had been found.

**Since formally entering the primary on Washington's birthday this year, Max Rafferty has not only continued to dazzle astute reporters, but California voters as well. Make no mistake. Max Rafferty, California's scholarly conservative, is likely to do what most politicos were dismissing as only a slim chance a few months ago: beat Tommy Kuchel.**

The possibility that such an upset of the Senate GOP whip may well occur has already made a sizable impact on the Kuchel camp. So worried is Tommy, in fact, that he has been desperately trying to persuade Sen. Everett Dirksen, the GOP minority leader, to bless him in the primary with the sort of oratorical eloquence that only Dirksen is capable of. The Illinois spellbinder is also under pressure from Kuchel to make a brief sojurn to the Golden State.

The Rafferty-Kuchel race is not without national significance, for much is at stake in what promises to be one of the most exciting Senate contests in 1968.

A Rafferty victory will strike an important blow against the liberal apparatus in the Congress and throughout the country. Kuchel will not only be out of the Senate if Rafferty wins, but he will no longer be Dirksen's chief lieutenant. With such conservatives as former Sen. Barry Goldwater and Rep. Ed Gurney likely to be elected to the Senate in 1968, Rafferty will be able to join with them in remolding the Senate GOP into the strong conservative force that it was not too long ago.

There are other implications as well. Kuchel is a liberal Republican to the tips of his very toes. Thus a resounding Kuchel defeat will do much to take the starch out of the leftish sentiment in some pockets of the Republican party and within a sturdy minority of the 86-man California delegation.

**Equally as important, a Kuchel loss will be a defeat for LBJ, for Kuchel is one of the few Republican senators so willing to embrace the plethora of "Great Society" programs driving this country to the edge of bankruptcy.**

The contrasts between Kuchel and Rafferty are vivid.

Rafferty is loyal to the Republican party and promises to support the winner of the GOP primary. But Kuchel has established what may be an unbeatable record for *not* supporting Republican nominees.

- He did not support Richard Nixon when he was running for governor in 1962;
- He did not back Barry Goldwater for the presidency in 1964;
- He did not support George Murphy for the Senate in 1964;
- He did not back Ronald Reagan for the governorship in 1966.

Indeed, Kuchel's disloyalty, along with his support of the Johnson Administration, has become an overriding issue in this election.

Rafferty is frankly conservative, Kuchel liberal. Kuchel has supported LBJ's "no-win" strategy in the war in Viet Nam. Rafferty backs Ike's policy

**Kuchel has refused to support the past campaigns of Nixon, Goldwater, Murphy and Reagan.**

of "hot pursuit" and winning the war by effectively deploying our overwhelming power.

"We should do whatever is necessary to end the war without defeat or dishonor to the United States," says Rafferty. "Ike wants to win it, but Johnson just wants to let it ride."

Rafferty believes the general increase of crime in this country is a result of the relaxation of enforcement by the Supreme Court and says he "would have declined to vote for most of the present Supreme Court members" because they are "unqualified." Kuchel, however, has continued to endorse the "soft-on-criminal" justices appointed by LBJ.

Kuchel has voted for U.S. governmental guarantees of credit for Communist countries, refused to back major efforts to trim the budget, balked last year at supporting Sen. John Williams' amendment to cut just $198 million from LBJ's multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty program, voted against S.J. Res. 144 to allow voluntary, non-sectarian prayers in the public schools and voted for a number of measures to increase the power of some of the GOP's greatest enemies: the bosses of organized labor.

Kuchel's cultivation of the AFL-CIO, whose leaders, in advance of a GOP nominee, have agreed to support LBJ, is amazing in view of the fact that he is the assistant *Republican* leader in the Senate.

**In 1967 the California Labor Federation revealed that Kuchel voted with organized labor two-thirds of the time on 12 major issues. By contrast, George Murphy, former head of the Screen Actors Guild, didn't cast a solitary vote on any of these issues the way the Big Labor Boys wanted him to.**

Kuchel has toadied to COPE by backing common-situs picketing legislation which would permit one striking union to close down an entire construction facility even though numerous other unions with no grievances were working on the same project. Because he cherishes organized labor's support, Kuchel opposed an amendment on Sept. 11, 1967, to bar banks, corporations or labor unions from channelling funds into primaries and general elections.

On Feb. 8, 1966, Kuchel opposed Sen. Dirksen's successful attempt to prevent the repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. Contrary to popular opinion, this section does not automatically establish voluntary unionism in every state; it only permits each state, on its own, to pass laws forbidding compulsory unionism if the legislature or the people so desire. But Kuchel wanted to repeal even this small measure of states' rights to appease organized labor's chieftains.

Rafferty, on the other hand, has made clear his opposition to domestic measures that would further tip the legislative scales in favor of unionism.

**Now that he is running for re-election, Kuchel has tried to confuse the voters and suggest that he is a "mainstream" Republican. This ploy, however, will just not wash.**

As an example of the type of tactics being used, Philip C. Wilkins, chairman of the Sacramento County Friends of Senator Tom Kuchel Committee, has sent out a letter to Republicans saying that the United States record of 167 rollcall votes through August 1967 reveals that Sen. Kuchel voted "83 per cent with the Republican majority," while Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper (R.-Iowa) supposedly voted only 79 per cent of the time with his party and Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.) was with the GOP majority on only 74 per cent of the votes.

More complete and unbiased statistics, however, are available—and were available at the time the Kuchel committee sent out its letter. Figures compiled by the authoritative and non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* show that on the 109 party unity rollcalls in all of 1967, Sen. Kuchel voted only 45 per cent of the time with the majority of his party. By way of contrast, Murphy voted with the party 54 per cent of the time and Hickenlooper 79 per cent.

Equally indicative is the Jan. 5, 1968, *Congressional Quarterly* report showing that Kuchel backed LBJ at least 61 per cent of the time; there were only three other Republican senators who surpassed him in this regard.

Take another significant statistic. The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action says that the average Senate Republican has a 65.3 per cent conservative rating. Kuchel's over-all ACA average: 40 per cent.

Kuchel is just not at home with conservatives in his party. Some persons believe this can be traced to an incident in 1964 when a few right-wingers, basing their accuastions on a signed affidavit by an ex-policeman, unleashed some cruel and unwarranted charges against the Californian. But Kuchel's dislike of conservatives clearly precedes this case.

Back in 1963 in his "Fright Peddler" speech—long before the incident mentioned above—Kuchel launched a campaign to place all conservatives, responsible and reckless, into the same "kooky" jar.

And in 1965, when Kuchel bowed out of the governor's race rather than square off against Ronald Reagan in a primary, he delivered an hysterical attack obviously aimed at Reagan's supporters. He declared: "The tragic fact is that within our California Republican



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party is a fanatical, neo-Fascist, political cult, overcome by a strange mixture of corrosive hatred and sickening fear, recklessly determined to control our party or to destroy it."

Kuchel told his followers to back a "moderate" and endorsed Reagan's opponent. Republicans who backed Reagan have never quite forgiven Kuchel for suggesting they were "neo-Fascist."

There are other striking differences between these opponents.

Kuchel progressed up the political ladder under the protective wing of then Gov. Earl Warren, once the "Big Daddy" of Golden State politics. The Anaheim California lawyer received his first big break from Warren in 1946 when the governor appointed Kuchel state controller to fill a vacancy in that elected office. Warren intervened on Kuchel's behalf once again in 1952 when he appointed Kuchel to the U.S. Senate.

**Thus Kuchel, who considers himself a foe of "bossism," initially succeeded to a powerful position within the GOP through the non-elective process.**

Rafferty, on the other hand, despite his erudition, is a true product of the grassroots. In late 1961 a group known as the Citizens Advisory Committee asked Rafferty to run for state superintendent of public instruction. Most of them had become convinced that the former district superintendent of La Canada schools was the right man after hearing him roast California's progressive educators, those "Deweyites" whose teaching methods were breeding children who could neither read well nor write decent English.

Rafferty had also won converts with a stirring address entitled "The Passing of a Patriot" in which he made a disturbing comparison between Nathan Hale ("I regret that I have but one life to give for my country") and those young men of today "who seem to spend every waking moment agitating against ROTC, booing authorized congressional committees and parading in support of Fidel Castro."

Rafferty traced part of the trouble to "my profession and . . . the voters and taxpayers who permitted" the abolition of heroes, patriots and the richness of our language and tradition and substituted "insufferable nonentities" in "insipid texts."

Rallying to Rafferty's banner, average parents, both liberals and conservatives, mounted a massive citizens campaign throughout California. Bucking the education lobby, an entrenched Democratic machine and what turned out to be Pat Brown's successful campaign against Dick Nixon for governor, Rafferty won by some 200,000 votes over his Democratic opponent. In 1966 he ran for re-election, winning overwhelmingly in the primary by gathering 2,925,401 votes—more than the combined totals for Ronald Reagan and Gov. Brown in their primary races.

In the language of his biographical sketch, "Dr. Rafferty has more schools and more school children under his supervision than any other man in the country"—4.5 million students and an annual budget of around $1 billion. Since his election in 1962, Dr. Rafferty, in the face of strong and usually scornful opposition by Democrats—he works in harmony with Gov. Reagan—has brought about several remarkable changes in California's educational system.

B. R. (Before Rafferty), the Golden State's schools had long been in the grip of progressive education, teaching the children, as Max Rafferty puts it, "that there are no positive eternal values," stressing "life adjustment" and "group acceptance," downgrading "the role of the individual," opposing "memorization" and competition among individuals, experimenting with bizarre learning techniques and minimizing the importance of books.

Rafferty has helped push through dramatic reforms by helping to persuade the legislature to decrease by half the number of silly education courses previously required for teachers and increase the number of content (hard subject matter) courses they must take.

**He has promoted local control of education, upgraded the texbooks used and has made the "phonics" system of teaching youngsters to read popular again.**

Along the way, according to liberal Mark Harris, "Dr. Rafferty has impressed employes [of his department of education] with his fairness, his aggressiveness in seeking equal racial opportunities in employment, and his cordial relationships with political opponents. No scandal has touched his office."

With his record of electoral success and highly praised performance on the job, Dr. Rafferty is convinced he can defeat Sen. Kuchel. Kuchel, who is fairly young (57) and in good health, will, of course, have the advantage of being an incumbent. He also holds high positions on two Senate committees important to California—Appropriations and Interior and Insular Affairs—and he has obtained for his state sizable slices of federal pork in the form of defense contracts, public works projects and the like. Furthermore, Gov. Reagan, while in no way opposed to Rafferty, has remained neutral in the contest.

Since last December, however, Rafferty has been fast closing the distance between himself and Kuchel. Whereas the respected Mervin Field poll showed that 50 per cent of the Republicans favored Kuchel last December, with Rafferty receiving only 29 per cent of the vote; by early February 1968 Kuchel's popularity had plunged to 40 per cent, with Rafferty collecting 34 per cent of the GOP vote.

As governor of California, Earl Warren twice boosted Kuchel's career by appointments—first by making him state controller, then U.S. senator.

In late February Basico (Behavior Science Corporation), which handled Ronald Reagan's research and surveys when he was running for governor, gave Rafferty 42 per cent of the vote and Kuchel 38 per cent, with the rest undecided.

**Not only is Rafferty raising large sums of money both nationwide and statewide, but he already has in his files the names of 58,000 California Republicans who have personally signed cards pledging they will work for him against Kuchel.**

Though initially troubled by a well-meaning, dedicated, but amateurish campaign organization, Rafferty has scored a major coup in obtaining youngish (36) Robert McGee as his campaign manager. McGee has credentials which prove he can be another "Spencer-Roberts."

In 1964 he handled what some thought to be a hopeless campaign: Ed Reinecke's California congressional race. Reinecke was in Los Angeles' heavily Democratic 27th District and was facing Assemblyman Tom Bane, Speaker Jesse Unruh's No. 1 candidate. The Democrats poured their heart out in the campaign, but lost.

Figuring Reinecke won by a fluke, they came back at him in 1966 with blood in their eyes. But Reinecke, again with McGee in his corner, won nine times the margin of his 1964 victory.

In 1966 McGee also handled the successful campaign of young Bob Mathias, the former Olympic champion. Mathias blasted liberal Harlan Hagan out of his seat in the 2-to-1 Democratic 18th District north of Los Angeles County.

Thus there are several good reasons why scholar Max Rafferty believes he can upset Thomas Henry Kuchel. The entire country will be watching June 4 when he will put his theory to the test before California's voters.

# Exclusive Interview With Dr. Max Rafferty

**Q. Why are you interested in running for the Senate?**

**A.** I would say I have three or four reasons. One of them is a professional reason based on my life's work as an educator. I have to administer more federal funds for education on the state level than any other man in the country, almost $300 million worth every year. And I have a first-hand view of how much of this money goes down the drain or is dissipated in waste because of the faulty way and sometimes ludicrous way in which this federal legislation is written.

I have a natural desire which I think is shared by any member of my profession to get into a position to rectify and to change the wording of these legislative acts. So, that's one professional reason why I would like to do it.

I have a political reason, too. Namely, that as a Republican I am getting sick and tired of having primary elections for this particular job in a vacuum where there is no real opposition and the incumbent simply gets unanimous renomination term after term with no effective challenging of his viewpoint and no projecting before the Republican voters of another point of view, another set of philosophies and policies. I would like to afford the Republicans a choice for a change—I think this is the purpose of a primary. If you're not going to do this, why bother to spend all the money to have a primary election at all?

Then I have a personal reason. As a matter of fact I have two personal reasons. One of them is the fact that I have a son in uniform in the U.S. Air Force and he's headed overseas in the next couple of months and I presume eventually he is going to end up in Viet Nam where they all do. I'd like to be in a position to cast maybe some key votes in Congress to put an end to this Viet Nam war the only way *any* American war can be brought permanently to an end—by winning it. It seems to me that the present policies of escalation, of drift, of delay, of cutting the dog's tail off an inch at a time so as not to hurt the dog so much, has led to nothing but increased casualties and nothing but increased heartbreak and grief for American parents and the American public and I'd like to be in a position to change this.

And then I guess my final reason is that as an old teacher of American government, I've got a sort of desire to find out if a fellow can get elected to a major public office without being a millionaire.

So I guess from my own point of view, these are the four compelling reasons why I would really want to run for office.

**Q. Do you see interest in your candidacy at the grassroots that you think is so important?**

**A.** We have seen a rather startling amount of interest. The incumbent has run several times with virtually no opposition, at least opposition that most people were familiar with. Now that there seems to be a good promise of a stern fight, of a real dialogue and debate, public interest in California is growing by leaps and bounds. My group of supporters, FOR—Friends of Rafferty, Inc.—a few months back had difficulty in just getting the telephones manned, just trying to answer the phone calls because of the flood of informational requests we were getting. We're collecting money now not just statewide but nationwide through small grassroots subscriptions and the response has been literally surprising.

**Q. What do you think will be some of the major issues in this primary contest?**

**A.** I don't think they'll be unique or original. It seems to me practically all candidates for national office are going to be talking about the same things because these are the things American people want to hear about. And one of them, of course, and the overriding one, unless it's solved in the interim, is the Viet Nam war. Here I have taken a position which I have previously indicated.

I am, briefly, an Eisenhower man in this matter. Three times in the last year, the former President and general has come out with a complete, coherent, and what I consider to be a very logical series of recommendations for bringing this tragic conflict to an end. Eisenhower knows more about bringing wars to an end than any other man presently alive on this continent, and I think that it's a sad shame and a complete disgrace that the national government has not paid more attention to him. I would hope that we Republicans when we get into power next year will do so, and I would do so were I elected to the Senate.

The second issue is, I think, an obvious one—the rapidly escalating crime rate, which makes most of us now scared stiff to go out after dark for a walk in the heart of our greatest cities. This is something which didn't exist before the Johnson Administration.

My own explanation for at least part of the reason behind this escalation in crime is that the criminal has ceased to be afraid of disobeying the law. He is not afraid because the courts persist in turning him loose or slapping him gently on the wrist. This is due to the example set by the United States Supreme Court and part of this in turn is due to the fact that we no longer appoint and confirm to the Supreme Court our most eminent authorities on constitutional and criminal law in this land. Instead, we appoint deserving Democrats, rewarded Republicans, political hacks, ideological fanatics, and even child-marrying mountain climbers.



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If I were to become a United States senator I would positively refuse to cast a confirming vote for anyone who the vast majority of our nation's authorities in this field, including the Bar Association, hadn't recommended as one of our most eminent jurists.

We now have the spectacle of a chief justice of the Supreme Court who, before he was appointed to the Supreme Court, had never tried a case in his life as a judge. I think this is ridiculous and many of our Supreme Court justices are certainly not in a category which could even charitably be described as an eminent authority on constitutional law.

Thirdly, I think an issue is going to be the question of the race riots, the burnings of our cities every summer, and I am going to have some very concrete and strong proposals to put forth in this respect.

One of them is the training and equipping of a federal riot control group, composed of units of our armed forces, which would be placed at the disposal of the states, such as Michigan, which had this problem arise last summer and was unable to get the help it needed because we simply did not have the forces specially trained in this area.

Closely connected with this issue is the other side of this coin, the permanent solving of the underlying causes of these street riots. This is going to involve a national conference, called I hope by the Republican President and the Congress, which will be composed of our greatest leaders in business, industry, labor, education and government and which will direct itself to the issue of how do we provide a job for every single able-bodied American who really *wants* one. I think that until we do this we are going to see a continuation of the riots.

As I read the Negro problem, and I work with them very closely, it's not a desire for equal housing, it's not a desire for better voting rights, it's not a desire to marry your sister, that is annoying and harassing the American Negro today. It is simply the fact that his unemployment rate happens to be sky-high where the rest of us are all working hard and making lots of money. And in this respect—although certainly not in respect to the rioting—I have a great deal of sympathy for the Negro.

These are the issues plus, of course, the great issue of whether we're going to continue to have local control of education or whether we're going to turn control of education over to a great soulless bureaucracy in Washington.

**Q. Do you think there will be more riots in 1968?**

**A.** Everything we've seen in the last few summers indicates that there's going to be no cessation. I don't think the Johnson Administration has done anything at all to attack the causes of the riots and until you do something about riots, of course, they're going to continue.

**Q. Aside from the problem of unemployment, do you see any other causes of the riots? The charge has been raised of subversive infiltration of civil rights. Do you think this is true?**


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**A.** There is no question about it. There's pretty good documentary evidence that you have the usual bunch of Communists and ultra-radical organizations which immediately seized the opportunities presented. This is true not only in the city riots but also in the campus riots, as we all know.

But this is not the main problem. Most of these city riots, if you examine them, are not started by Communist agitators out waving red flags and sniping at the cops. What is causing it is ridiculous, stupid, dunderheaded things like some guy in a bar taking a swing at somebody else. The cops are called in from the corner to break up the fight and everybody chooses up sides and somebody else yells "police brutality" and the riot starts. Now the Communists are *not* initiating this. What

**Dr. Rafferty hopes to move from the state capital in Sacramento to the national capital in Washington.**

the Communists do is to seize on it immediately, exploit it, drive the wedge deeper and wider and try to take over the situation on an opportunistic basis. They are well equipped to do this and I am sure they are doing it.

**Q. Education is your area of specialty, interest and knowledge. If you were a senator, what plans and what ideas would you implement in education?**

**A.** The first thing I would like to do is to completely re-write the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which has been renewed each year since then. I have to administer this act in the biggest state in the Union and I happen to know its pitfalls and loopholes. One of the problems is the way it treats the private schools.

Private schools can now get federal money but they have to get it through subterfuge. They have to sort of go around to the back door, hat in hand, and more or less apply through us public school men before they can get any federal money. I think this is abominable because it means, unless this trend is reversed, that within a measurable amount of time these private schools are going to be private schools in name only—on the principle that he who pays the piper calls the tune. The private school that has to keep coming hat in hand begging for federal largess is going to be to just that extent less and less a private school and more and more a public subsidiary and I think this is terrible.

Another thing that I might just mention in passing is that I would like to correct the way the ESEA Act is written to provide money for public school districts on the basis of how many poor children those districts have attending the schools. The theory is that if you have a certain number of poor children, the school district itself is poor and thus needs federal money.

This is calculable poppycock and a non sequitur argument and has no possible connection with logic. I know many school districts that are very wealthy districts, who happen to have rather large numbers of poor children whose parents are on relief attending the schools. These school districts need no more money at all. But because of the way the federal formula is written they qualify for this money.

The city of Beverly Hills, for example, qualified for, I think, $45,000 last year in federal money under ESEA, which it needs about as much as you need another mother-in-law. I think everybody knows how "pitiable" and "poverty stricken" the city of Beverly Hills is and how much it needs more money. To the credit of Beverly Hills, it did not apply for this money. But to the discredit of the ESEA Act, if the city had applied for the $45,000, I would have *had* to give it to them.

So there are many ways in which this act should be re-written to keep federal money—which is our money—from being dissipated just as a desert river runs and dissipates itself into the sands.

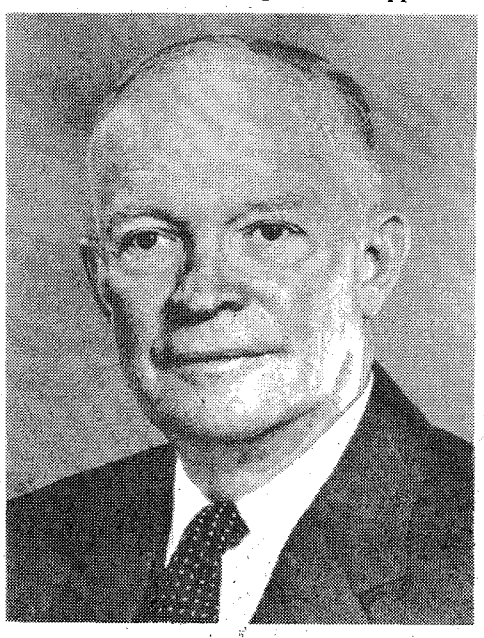
**Q. What about the practice of busing?**

**A.** Well, many school districts bus and many do not. My opinion on busing is that it should be designed to solve transportation problems and designed to equalize overcrowded schools by busing children where there are not such overloaded classrooms. Busing to solve school problems of race and ethnic imbalance is perfectly justifiable as long as you don't *compel* someone to travel against his will or against the will of his parents. . . . I am definitely opposed to mandated busing for any reason whatsoever.

**Q. Dr. Rafferty, are you for or against federal aid?**

**A.** I am opposed to generalized federal aid to education projects, but I do not oppose federal aid designed for specific projects earmarked for obvious needs. Specific federal aid goes clear back to the Ordinance of 1787 even before we had a United States of America.

In this ordinance certain plots of land in every township in the great Northwest Territory were set aside for public schools. Only the federal government could do this—there wasn't anybody else in the territories then and they were trying to get them settled. The Morrell Act of Lincoln's Administration—which set up the great land grant colleges throughout the West at the time that states and territories were certainly unable to support such colleges—was a must. There was the GI Bill after World War II. All these things I have supported.



**Former President Dwight Eisenhower's proposal for "hot pursuit" of the enemy in Viet Nam is endorsed by Rafferty.**

But I do object to many types of nonspecific type aid, the fuzzy kind embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and certain areas of the Economic Opportunity Act, things that furnish billions of dollars for such things as salaries and buildings. As I have mentioned in previous interviews, this aid is going to bring with it the worst evils of federal control, and is profoundly repugnant to those of us who believe that education should remain as a state function the way it was originally intended.

Let me remind you, also, that California was No. 1 in the nation before there was any federal aid to education, insofar as buildings, salaries, facilities and the like. What federal aid has done is to lavish funds on unnecessary projects and has even added a whole new division to my department engaged in doing nothing but handing out advice on how to carry out these federal projects. We should be concentrating on important matters, not dispensing money on luxury items.

**Q. How do you feel about tax credits for students on a college level, a plan that has been pushed forward by a number of Republican conservatives in Congress?**

**A.** Tax credits may be an answer, but I tend to believe that if the federal government would just remove itself from a dozen or so of the tax fields which it has preempted from the states, there wouldn't need to be any tax credit program. The states would then be able to finance their own systems of education through their normal tax sources.

**Q. Dr. Rafferty, you have spent most of your life working with young people. One of the most disturbing trends in this country is the growth of a reaction against law, reaction against order, against stability among young people. We have the hippies, we have LSD, we have people taking "trips." What is your analysis of this trend and how would you in the Senate as a spokesman for your state and for the country try to counteract this trend?**

**A.** Well, for one thing, I would vote for much more rigid laws and drastic penalties against the possession and sale of drugs and narcotics. This is a national scandal and is beginning to become a national tragedy. The people who claim that these drugs are just brave adventurings into the psyche designed to bring the individual into a new awareness of the cosmic significance of it all leave me icy cold—I think this is balderdash and baloney. It seems to me this is the direst and the dirtiest danger to young people that I have seen in a lifetime spent in the service of young people.

For years I have set my face like flint against anything which hurt young people and this hurts them worse than anything else. In the last year we've seen the distraught flower children roosting pathetically in trees, flinging themselves madly from high buildings, carving little children to death with broken bottles—this sort of thing is going to have to come to a stop. It seems to me the government is going to have to take the lead in this to serve as an example to the individual states. I would certainly vote for this.

But, on the other hand, I think I would try as a senator to make it very clear that these people are a very small and rather sordid minority of our vast group of fine young people.

Secondly, it is the inordinate attention which the news media pay to this phenomenon. They didn't have television cameras following Oscar Wilde around. We didn't have any motion picture people and news cameramen following the Bohemians in Greenwich Village very much in the 1920s. I do think there is more of it than we've had. I think the percentages are up, but I think moral decline of the American people as a whole is a phenomenon, which I hope is temporary, but which is bound to have an effect on young people and is bound to affect our schools.

The schools, after all, act as the mirror of the community which supports and populates them. And we're not seeing anything in the schools, colleges and universities today that we are not seeing in society in general. What we need is a complete moral regeneration, which I think the President and the Congress could help to bring about, and I would like to be a part of it.

**Q. If you lose the primary, will you support the winner?**

**A.** Yes. I said last spring in response to this question out in California that as a Republican I feel that if I use the party machinery to run in the party primary and if I am soliciting party support in trying to get a party position, I have not only the right but the responsibility to support the party.

I feel that if the party decides against me and picks another candidate, that if I am going to be a legitimate member of the Republican party I have to support the choice of the majority. To do anything else would be profoundly undemocratic and I have announced in advance that I will support, and vigorously support, anyone whom the party nominates. I am in hopes, sort of a pious hope I guess, that the newspapermen who toss this question to me so frequently, will also toss it to the incumbent Republican senator. I think his response to this question would be most illuminating.

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**Highlighting the unrest in Eastern Europe was this pro-Communist Warsaw demonstration attacking the "intellectuals" who are asking greater "liberalization." The demonstration shows signs of being staged.**

# Satellites Will Find Freedom, Predicts Leader of Exile Groups

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

To what extent are the captive peoples of Eastern Europe resigned to Communist rule?

To find out, I questioned one of the most informed individuals in the United States, Dr. George M. Dimitrov, current chairman of the Assembly of Captive European nations, secretary general of the International Peasant Union and president of the Bulgarian National Committee.

**E.A.M.:** Dr. Dimitrov, is animosity toward tyranny in the nine captive countries of Eastern Europe rising, stable or falling?

**Dr. Dimitrov:** These peoples are becoming more pro-Western every day. Not even the West's passivity in face of the Hungarian revolution convinced them that it has totally abandoned them. But they resent the "bridges" to their governments which Western countries, including yours, are trying to build. Unless you can build bridges to the people, directly, then don't build them. On this point this is no difference between the captive nations, no matter what you may hear to the contrary.

**E.A.M.:** But isn't it true that those countries are producing more?

**Dr. D.:** What's the good of greater national product if living standards remain the same and if the economic differential between the bosses and the downtrodden gets worse every year?

**E. A. M.:** We hear that previous restrictions have been eased.

**Dr. D.:** This is no longer true. To the contrary, Communist controls are tighter than before and there is less tolerance of protest than before. And with good reason: the Reds in power are frightened and could not survive without restrictions.

**E.A.M.:** But surely, the Communist countries no longer form a monolithic bloc with Moscow.

**Dr. D.:** In appearance only. Basically they are as dependent upon Russia as ever. Contrary to some American opinion, Rumania is not becoming another Yugoslavia. Bucharest signs no international agreements without Russia's consent. Among themselves, and sometimes with Moscow, the captive states have some economic disagreement. Thus by decollectivizing their farms, the Poles, and to some extent the Yugoslavs, increased their food supply to the envy of their neighbors.

**E.A.M.:** Yugoslavia seems to be having internal problems and shows some relaxation of controls.

**Dr. D.:** The people have more freedom to talk but not to act. Look at Mihajlov in jail for trying to follow the constitution! Their real problems are the perennial quarrels between the component nationalities, Serbs, Macedonians, Croats and Slovenes. Tito's death could bring these into the open. Make no mistake: communism in East Europe is doomed and in Russia too for that matter.

**E.A.M.:** How do you foresee that eventual liberation will come about?

**Dr. D.:** In one of three ways. The first would be a general war involving all the Communist countries. A second could be developments within the Soviet Union, where after 50 years the people are beginning to stir. Almost anything can happen there.

The third path to liberation could be the simultaneous rebellion of half a dozen captive countries. The Kremlin could crush one uprising, perhaps even two, as it crushed the Hungarians. But if five or six peoples revolted simultaneously, there is nothing Moscow could do about it. In my opinion, it would not even try.

From Bulgaria to Estonia, the captive peoples saw the magnificent spectacle of the tiny Jewish people defying the Arabs as a lesson for them, a model for the future.

**E.A.M.:** You paint a pleasing picture. Just what could the United States do to hasten the process of liberation?

**Dr. D.:** Cease giving aid and prestige to the Communist tyrants and start supporting the underground movements among the captive peoples.

**E.A.M.:** Some American officials pooh-pooh any talk of liberation.

**Dr. D.:** I know. But they are wrong. You will see.

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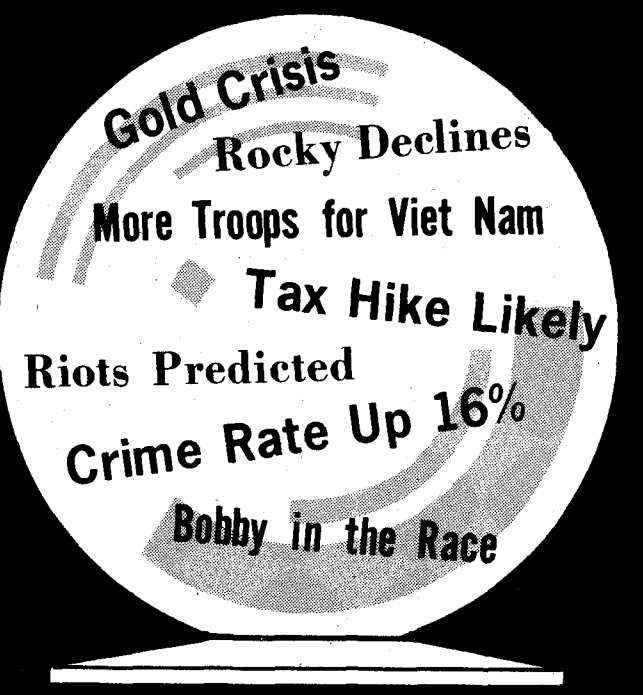
**REP. MICHAEL KIRWAN** (D.-Ohio), veteran chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, is telling friends that his party faces "disaster" in November. The usually optimistic Kirwan fears the Democrats will lose control of the House for the first time in 16 years.


## WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

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Continued from Page 7

# OEO's Legal Services Undermine Law and Order

As for Mr. Lofton, the governor of New Jersey appointed him to a special commission to investigate the Newark riots (which ran into a storm of criticism when it reported they were not organized). OEO gave the Newark LSP a special award for outstanding performance of duty.

**Distinction is nothing new for Mr. Lofton; in 1961 and 1962 he served as legal assistant to Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, the U.S. deputy attorney general.**

In an investigation of the role of the LSP in the Newark riots, the Committee on Law and Poverty of the New Jersey Bar Association found that, "The entire resources of the Newark LSP and the Public Defender of the state of New Jersey and Mr. Howard H. Kestin [New Jersey] director of legal services of the OEO, were thereafter marshaled to provide legal services for those persons who had been arrested in the course of the Newark riots." (At OEO headquarters Information Officer Edward O'Hara is not sure whether this included the defense of Newark anti-poverty worker Charles McGray and Black Arts Theater playwright LeRoi Jones, who were arrested in Newark for firing rifles from a car in the middle of the riot.)

LSP lawyers have defended alleged rioters on an even greater scale. Earl Johnson Jr., director of LSP for OEO, told the American Bar Association last August: "Soon over a score of Legal Services attorneys from all over New Jersey were busily engaged in representing arrestees. Similarly, in Detroit, a team of Legal Services lawyers and volunteers from the bar labored mightily to provide representation to the thousands of persons arrested in that city's riots. And the experience has been repeated in almost every city where riots have broken out."

In response to charges that the LSP raised bail for persons arrested in connection with the riots, the committee said private contributors set up a special trust fund to furnish bail.

It explained: "For convenience, the specially contributed funds were deposited in a Newark LSP bank account for the Newark LSP but were treated separately from the project's own funds. We have been unable to uncover any evidence substantiating the charge that funds originating from the federal government were used to provide bail." The committee did not question the propriety of having the LSP administer such funds.

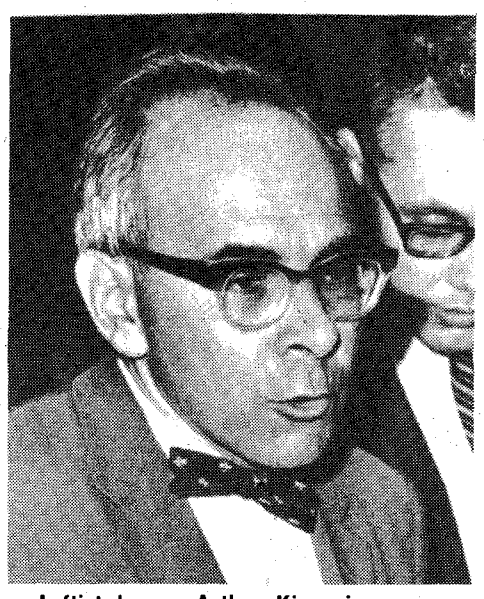
The committee also failed to question the distribution of leaflets in Newark by the LSP jointly with the American Civil Liberties Union, although New Jersey Deputy Atty. Gen. Joseph Hoffman called them (according to the New York *Times*) "irresponsible, legally unethical and what might well constitute incitement to riot." The leaflets urged all witnesses of police brutality to contact either the LSP or the ACLU.

The committee did note that the Newark LSP received, reviewed and analyzed 274 statements and affidavits dealing with charges of police brutality. "Even if all of them were without merit, it was necessary that they be received and processed. . . . It was the obligation of the Newark LSP to receive and process these complaints, just as it was the duty of the police to preserve law and order," the committee declared.

Any evidence gathered in this way presumably will be used in the suit to turn the Newark police department over to a federal receiver. The suit was filed jointly by the LSP and the ACLU. According to the Washington *Post*, Arthur A. Kinoy is a chief adviser in the case.

Mr. Kinoy made the front pages in August 1966, when he disrupted a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and was ejected. The courts subsequently found him guilty of disorderly conduct. According to HCUA, Mr. Kinoy is vice president of the National Lawyers Guild, which it has cited as a Communist front, and also serves as attorney for the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, which J. Edgar Hoover has identified as a youth project of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The New Jersey Bar Association Committee also found nothing wrong with LSP lawyers being on the scene and giving legal advice to people it



Leftist lawyer Arthur Kinoy is among those representing militants who charge "police brutality" triggered the riots.

said were peacefully picketing the Clinton Hill Meat Market in Newark. However, the aforementioned Mr. Kowalewski told the Senate Judiciary Committee that the pickets were lying in the streets and disrupting traffic.

**He said that after some of the agitators were arrested, the judge released them on their own recognizance with the understanding they were not to go back and demonstrate until the courts decided the matter. "These very same people were back out in the line the very next day" and LSP attorneys were right there to protect them, Mr. Kowalewski declared.**

A demonstration also is the basis for a joint suit by the Philadelphia LSP, known there as Community Legal Services, Inc., and Mr. Kinoy's law firm, Kunstler, Kunstler & Kinoy. They urged a federal takeover of the city police department because of alleged police brutality in connection with a demonstration of 3,500 Negro students at Philadelphia's Board of Education Building last December 9. (The case now has been thrown out of court.)

Testifying in his defense, Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo said the demonstration was "a howling mob of completely undisciplined men and women, or minors in age but adults in physical stature." He said he feared they would burn the city down if the police didn't act.

Before the case was dismissed, four Philadelphia lawyers have filed suit in Common Pleas Court for an injunction to stop CLS from proceeding with the suit. They are Samuel Smith, Lenard L. Wolfe, John A. Popola and Neil Carver. They alleged that some of the eight plaintiffs failed to meet standards for indigency to qualify them for CLS aid, since income runs as high as $15,000 per year. Moreover, the lawyers charged that CLS activities violate the canons of ethics of the American, Pennsylvania and Philadelphia bar associations.

In Indianapolis the local LSP (Indianapolis Legal Services Organization) distributed several thousand cards in the city's low-income neighborhoods giving advice on the art of non-co-operation with the police.

In California the LSP, known there as California Rural Legal Assistance, has been helping the leftist United Farm Workers. That's a union headed by Cesar Chavez, who, according to Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), is a member of the CRLA board of trustees. A report of the Alabama Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace, a branch of the Alabama State Legislature, says the union was created in 1965 with the help of known Communists. CRLA won reinstatement and back pay for nine of Mr. Chavez' organizers who allegedly were fired for union activity.

CRLA also brought suit against U.S. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz to block his approval last fall of the employment of 8,100 Mexicans to harvest crops in California's northern San Joaquin Valley. The suit was dismissed after a settlement giving CRLA a voice in importation of the workers. Still, Sen. Murphy considered it odd to find two taxpayer-financed agencies battling each other in court.

**Clashing with other aims of the government in court has become routine for LSP. In New York City, for instance, LSP has several cases pending against the local public housing authority. The suits challenge refusals to rent to unwed mothers and evictions of tenants for undesirable behavior.**

Some of LSP's most spectacular suits against federal agencies involve welfare payments. In U.S. district courts in Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia, LSP attorneys have gained rulings eliminating all residency requirements for welfare payments. The cases inspired the following comments from Rep. Joel T. Broyhill (R.-Va.): "Instead of protecting the interests of the American people who employ them, they [LSP attorneys] directed their efforts toward destruction of the safeguards of our society.

"They sought to have all welfare residency requirements, both state and federal, declared unconstitutional. They are succeeding."

At OEO headquarters here in Washington officials are gleeful at the prospect of winning similar victories in all the estimated 40 states which have residency requirements for welfare payments.

LSPs also are winning some startling and far-reaching decisions in the field of housing code violations, which city governments are supposed to enforce.

Last month the LSP won a decision at the D.C. Court of Appeals which held a landlord cannot evict a tenant for nonpayment of rent if the housing was in violation of the D.C. housing code at the time of rental. The property in question had a broken railing, clogged commode and inadequate ceiling height in the basement. LSP argued that these conditions violated the housing code and made the rental contract invalid.

Said LSP national director Johnson: "Since it is binding on all landlord-tenant cases in D.C., it improves the rights and economic condition of the estimated 280,000 residents of more than 100,000 dwelling units in D.C. found to be in violation of the housing code. It also has precedent value outside D.C."

The decision undoubtedly will strengthen LSP in carrying out its announced policy of encouraging rent strikes "to encourage the rights of tenants to withhold rent when their housing is in bad condition."

**Barron's asked Donald Stocks, deputy director of LSP at OEO, how it would help poor people to bankrupt many landlords through such practices. He said he believes the answer is for the government to finance slum housing.**

Back in 1966 Robert Kirk Walker, president of the Tennessee Bar Association, charged that encouraging rent strikes was tantamount to inciting social revolution. E. Clinton Bamberger Jr., then director of LSP at OEO headquarters, answered, "There's going to be a change in this country. If the lawyers want to watch it and not participate in it, that's your decision."

Those who criticize LSP for battling statutes aimed at discouraging immorality cite specific cases. In Atlantic City, the LSP is challenging the constitutionality of the New Jersey Narcotics Act and has brought suit on behalf of Alfred Washington, a leader of the Afro-American Unity Movement, and two others, Joseph Ruiz and Frank Minio.

According to J. Edgar Hoover, the movement was formed by the late Malcolm X and branched off from the Black Muslims, who advocate a separate black nation. On behalf of Mr. Washington and Messrs. Ruiz and Minio, LSP is contesting the state law requiring dope addicts or users to register with the police.

**As the foregoing indicates, LSP is much more interested in changing laws than in handling individual hardship cases. To focus attention on what OEO officials call "poverty law," the agency this year made grants to 11 universities for special efforts in that field. They ranged from $64,000 to Georgetown University Law Center to $352,000 to the University of Detroit.**

Still, as it bulldozes down the road to revolution, the LSP is encountering some opposition. The four aforementioned Philadelphia lawyers are petitioning the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to review the charter of the Philadelphia LSP. It provides, they say, for a board of directors, a voting majority of which may be non-lawyers, who will hire, fire and control the practice of law by their employes. The practice of law by a corporation, they contend, is unlawful.

The Florida Bar Association has endorsed a resolution noting that the LSP is not authorized in anti-poverty legislation, and "therefore is deficient in providing any safeguards to adequately protect the persons to be served, the public in general and the legal profession."

The Council of the North Carolina State Bar says lawyers on the payrolls of organizations financed by OEO must accept directions in accordance with the agency's guidelines, thereby endangering the traditional attorney-client confidential relationship. Moreover, it points out that OEO is free to change indigency standards at will, "so that, conceivably, most if not all of the people in this country would eventually be entitled to receive free legal services."

The council gives the following warning: "The Legal Services Program as so constituted could seriously cripple or destroy the independence of the legal profession. The concern of the lawyers is not just for lawyers, but for the citizens of this state and nation of all races and creeds and all walks of life. It is their freedom which is at stake . . . and it is vitally important to them that a free and independent legal profession is not killed or seriously crippled."



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# Two-Price Gold System Is Shortsighted Stopgap

By HENRY HAZLITT

The new two-price system of gold is a shortsighted stopgap measure and probably a short-lived one. It may soon create as many problems as it solves.

President Johnson has repeatedly pledged himself to retain the $35 an ounce price for gold, and Chairman William McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve Board has pledged to pay out gold to foreign official holders "down to the last bar," so the new measure is a pledge-saving and face-saving device.

But the dollar will no longer be the same. The great myth—that the paper dollar is "as good as gold," if not better—has been exploded. At a free market price of $40, for instance, gold is at a premium of 14.3 per cent over the par value of the dollar, which means that the dollar is at a discount of 12.5 per cent against gold.

Since 1961 and until the March 17 weekend, the central banks of Belgium,

**Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McC. Martin admits the U.S. is only buying some time.**

Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Britain and the United States have been contributing to a "gold pool." This pool fed out just enough gold to the London market every day to keep the price from going above the official level of $35 an ounce.

The gold went to non-government buyers to meet the private demands from jewelers, dentists, industry, speculators and hoarders. Gold has been pouring out so fast in recent weeks and months to meet this demand that the central banks decided to stop the leak. Therefore, they agreed to close down the London market for two weeks, and that hereafter private buyers will have to pay the free market price for gold here and abroad.

**But this brings back the very market premium on gold that the gold pool was originally formed to prevent. This premium will daily and hourly cast doubt on the value and convertibility of the dollar. The two-price system for gold is, in effect, a two-price system for the dollar.**

And it is doubtful whether, in the long run, it will even cut down the amount of gold loss from the U.S. Treasury. The March 17 agreement was signed by only seven central banks. Presumably they will abide by its spirit. But there are 106 members of the International Monetary Fund (Switzerland is not one). What about the other 100 members from Afghanistan to Zambia?

The seven signatories say they "will not sell gold to monetary authorities to replace gold sold in private markets." The purpose is to prevent these 100 foreign nations, with their associated central bank officials, bureaucrats and politicians, from buying gold at $35 an ounce from the United States to sell at $40, say, in the market.

But let us suppose that the U.S. Treasury can police a hundred central banks in Burundi, Chile, Chad, El Salvador, France, Ghana, Haiti, and so on and trace where all the dollars came from and where all the gold went to. Suppose the central banks, losing faith in the dollar, simply ask for gold for the dollars they already have? They already have some $16 billion of these. And there are some $16 billion more of foreign private dollar holdings that may be legitimately turned into those banks for our less than $12 billion remaining gold.

**If they want to prevent further deterioration of the dollar, the U.S. government and the Federal Reserve System will have to submit a far stricter fiscal and monetary discipline than they have been willing to face in the last 10 years. But our officials have already waited too long for half measures to plug the drain.**

The best thing they can do now is to embargo gold completely—while we still have sizable reserves—protect foreign central banks against losses in terms of their own currencies, and call a meeting of the International Monetary Fund to end the dollars exchange standard and get back to a sound world currency system on a new basis.

(Copyright 1968, Los Angeles Times)

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**MOYERS SOUNDS OFF**—Former White House press secretary Bill Moyers had LBJ sputtering recently when he told a Yale audience that Eugene McCarthy's White House aspirations are "quite healthy for the Democratic party." Moyer also angered Johnson by suggesting that the United States stop its bombing of North Viet Nam.

**HOW VOTERS FEEL**—"People are mad about everything," Sen. George Aiken (R.-Vt.) reported after a recent trip back home. "What they really want is for me to go downtown and throw the occupants of the White House right into the street."

**NEARLY THREE MILLION**—LBJ's request for 55,600 new bureaucrats will bring the government's non-defense-payroll to a whopping 2,986,700—just 13,300 short of the three-million mark.

# BOOK NOTES

**A Book-By-Mail Service For HUMAN EVENTS Readers**

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THE EDITORS

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**STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY, POLITICS AND ECONOMICS** by Friedrich A. Hayek (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 350 pages, $6.50)

"Dr. Friedrich A. Hayek, who wrote up such a storm with **The Road to Serfdom** away back in 1944, has put together a book from 25 of his reflections on philosophy, politics and economics. . .

"This thinker's mind is so perceptive that the pieces hang together amazingly well, and are sharply pertinent today. . . ."—From **Barron's**

**KIM PHILBY—THE SPY I MARRIED**, by Eleanor Philby (Ballantine, 173 pages, 75¢)

**THE THIRD MAN**, by E. H. Cookridge (Berkley Medallion, 281 Pages, 95¢)

"In a bizarre example of how we pick our heroes, the Western world is currently agog over the adventures of Harold (Kim) Philby, master Russian spy, British traitor. A clever fellow indeed, Philby was accused in the House of Commons in 1958 of being the mysterious 'third man' who had warned his fellow Englishmen, Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, that they were about to be arrested as Russian agents. The charge against Philby was denied, and five years later he took his clean slate with him to Moscow. . . .

"The joke was not on the British alone, of course. Philby helped organize the United States Central Intelligence Agency when he was head of British intelligence in Washington and, as one result, he tells how he helped break up a CIA plot to overthrow the Communist government of Albania by sending word ahead via Moscow. Two intriguing accounts of Philby's life and career are **The Spy I Married**, written by Philby's third wife Eleanor, who never suspected her husband was a Russian spy until that day in 1963 when he vanished behind the Iron Curtain and word of his treachery came painfully to public attention, and **The Third Man**, a more complete account, if less ironic, by E. H. Cookridge, a former British spy who knew Philby."—From **Book World**

**WHY THE DRAFT**, by James C. Miller III, editor (Penguin, 197 pages, $1.25)

"This may turn out to be one of the most influential books of the year—for two reasons. First, it's the case of the volunteer army set forth not in the shrill hysterics of front-line protest but in careful, reasonable and objective evaluations of the alternatives by seven young political economists. Second, it carries endorsements by Milton Friedman, the distinguished conservative political economist, and John Kenneth Galbraith, the equally distinguished liberal political economist.

"Writes Friedman: 'This is a most important and exciting book. It is important because it deals with a crucial problem of our society: Must we continue to man our armed forces by methods that are repugnant to our national values? It is exciting because it shows so decisively that the present method is neither desirable nor necessary. . . . The young men who have collaborated on this book have done their country a great service. . .'"—From **Book World**

**ABOVE THE LAW—The Rise and Fall of Thomas J. Dodd** by James Boyd (New American Library, 337 pages, $6.50)

The "Dodd Case" has been much discussed, with conservatives lined up on both sides of the controversy. Dodd's principal antagonist sets down the case against the senator in this book, which is now being widely read in the Nation's Capital. The Washington **Evening Star** writes:

"Although the book has been superbly researched and undoubtedly is the best single account of the Dodd case, Boyd tends to overemphasize somewhat the roles played by himself, the other former Senate employes and newspaper columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, who brought the case against Dodd to the public. . . .

"Some of Boyd's most perceptive writing is in the first chapter—the only one devoted to Dodd's rise. In a superb account of the senator's early days in politics, he recreates the seemingly endless civic luncheon circuit speeches, the late-night strategy sessions and the wheeling and dealing for grass-roots support which typify the early days of virtually all political leaders.

"Later in the book, he is understandably harsh in his description of the Senate's refusal to consider a wide variety of charges against Dodd which might lead to criticism of numerous other members of Congress."

# 'Ramparts' Distorts Viet Nam Casualty Story

From *Twin Circle*, the National Catholic Press

*Ramparts*, the left-wing magazine, which claims to print fact, has been caught in a bit of story telling.

It ran an article on "The Children of Viet Nam" and showed one little girl it claimed was "scorched and seared by fire." The article, with a preface by Dr. Benjamin Spock, makes the point that a million children have been killed, wounded, or burned in the war and that a large percentage are caused by American napalm and white phosphorous.

**However, a Seattle physican, Dr. Haakon Radge, said he personally had treated the girl pictured as a burn victim and that her wounds were caused by shrapnel.**

Dr. Ragde of the department of surgery of University Hospital said it was impossible to know how many Vietnamese are injured or by which side.

He told the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* that "many times the enemy will shoot at American troops from a village to draw their fire into the village."

Dr. E. Archer Dillard Jr., of the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital also took exception to the *Ramparts* article. Dr. Dillard said: "In all my time there [in Viet Nam], I can remember only two white phosphorous burns. Most of the civilian burns were from gasoline. The Viet Cong set gasoline traps for people. I never saw any atrocities by the Americans—but plenty by the Viet Cong. We saw them daily."

The article accuses American doctors of making "short-cut" amputation of children's limbs. Dr. Ragde also denied this.

**"We never amputated unless we had to. Many of the hands and arms of children over there were blown off by booby traps." The Communists use booby traps as one of their favorite weapons.**

Dr. Ragde said the boy pictured as a victim of such "short-cut" surgery could well have been treated in his hospital, since he recognized a girl standing behind the boy.

Two other Seattle physicians denounced what they called "medical propaganda" against the United States as evidenced by the *Ramparts* article. They are Dr. Ward B. Hurlburt of the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, and Dr. Jack G. Henneman, University District physician. Both have likewise been in Viet Nam.



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# Have White Liberals Really Caused Riots?

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Our young priest was giving an eloquent sermon on the evils of racism. He condemned in no uncertain terms those who hate their neighbor because of his race.

I looked about the congregation (we have a circular church). I felt confident that not an adult in that assembly had ever harbored hatred for people of other races.

This was a typical middle-class congregation. The people were proud of their German, Irish, English and Polish ancestry. They had been raised to a Christian sense of mission. They had supported the Negro and Indian missions in this country and the foreign mission societies. They felt only charity for the people of other races and a desire to help those who languished in poverty.

**I wondered what had led our young priest to preach such a sermon. Was he so out of touch with the congregation that he did not understand its basic character and commitment? Had he been reading the Marxist caricatures of American history which depict the poor Negro as a victim of white exploitation?**

I learned from the religious press that some of our bishops had given approval to the Kerner Commission's finding that white racism caused the riots in American cities in 1967. It astonished me to find our bishops taking their moral judgments from Gov. Kerner, Mayor Lindsay and other politicians. I had examined the evidence closely and had concluded that the judgments of these politicians were both political and immoral.

The charge of white racism is character assassination of the American people. It is the language of the Marxist militants and a perversion of the truth. In the past century of Negro freedom, white charity has provided education, medical care and financial assistance for the advancement of the American Negro. In no other country of the world has a racial minority had such opportunity and achieved so much.

The basic Marxist lie is that the workers of the world are exploited by the owners of industry in free countries. In the United States, they apply this thesis to disparities of wealth to derive a charge that the white majority is practicing racial oppression of the blacks.

**Black Marxists spreading these false charges are the source of racism in the United States. They stir envy and hatred among the poor Negroes. They depict the poorest Negroes as representative of the race in America.**

But the Negro on relief is not typical of Negro Americans. The race is strongly represented in the professions. It has an impressive quota of millionaires for a people who were emancipated from slavery a century ago. The general status of the Negro in America belies the charge of racial oppression.

What racism is revealed in the condition of poor whites who outnumber the Negro poor by three to one? None at all. Poverty is the product of many factors including personal capacity, changing industry and lack of mobility.

The ordinary preference of people for their own race and culture is a natural and healthy phenomenon of all human societies. It is not incompatible with charity for other races and cultures. The ordinary striving within a competitive society brings setbacks and disappointments to those who do not achieve their heart's desire, but this factor operates for whites and blacks. Men who distort and misrepresent the operation of these healthy forces as evidence of racism are speaking the language of the Communist class warfare.

**The greatest triumph of the Communist party in America has been its exploitation of racial conflict to seduce white liberals into false appraisals of social phenomena.**

It has perverted the history of race relations in America, created a mythology of racial oppression and strife and enlisted white liberals in an assault on the laws of the land. It has enlisted the Democratic party and large sectors of the clergy in the subversion of law and order.

It is the array of white power on the side of the black racists which sparks the class warfare in our cities. The federal government has through the poverty program financed the Marxist leadership of the Negro poor and frozen out moderate black leaders. Substitute "white liberal" for "white racist" in the Riot Commission Report and you will be close to the truth.

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**PUZZLING APPOINTMENTS**—California conservatives are puzzled by Gov. Ronald Reagan's selection of two "moderate" Republicans: Caspar W. Weinberger, Reagan's new director of finance and Judge Thomas W. Caldecott, the governor's legislative consultant. Both have long been identified with the Earl Warren wing of the California Republican party.


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# Open Housing Push Could Hurt Civil Rights

By RUSSELL KIRK

As the House of Representatives debates the newest civil rights bill, grim muttering is audible in the galleries. The great American public has heard enough of abstract rights for a while; now the public demands concrete performance of some civil duties.

**Is this nation supposed to pass a new civil rights bill every year? Many provisions of previous acts are unenforced and probably unenforceable. For that matter, there is less school integration than there was a decade ago. Just who is to be benefited by more assertions of abstract right? Who eats or drinks rights?**

**Author Kirk feels a prime beneficiary of a strong civil rights bill would be former Alabama Gov. George Wallace —and, by extension, President Johnson.**

The present bill, passed by the Senate, was hastily accepted and confusedly amended. It would put upon the federal government the colossal task of the state and local enforcement in all sorts of ways for which Washington is not prepared. It would decree an "open housing" policy which would benefit colored people a little, but would rouse such general resentment and evasion as we have not seen since the days of the Volstead Act.

Nor would this bill, if enacted, allay discontent or redress many wrongs. Dr. Martin Luther King means to hold his crazy mass demonstration in Washington this spring, whether or not Congress obeys President Johnson and passes the civil rights bill. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael will not be appeased. Nothing in this bill is calculated to prevent a single summer riot; indeed, its provisions encourage extremists to think that the federal government will take their part against state and local forces of order.

One group of people, true enough, might benefit from passage of the bill: conservatives in Congress who vote against it, and other conservatives, Republican or Democratic, who stand this fall against incumbent liberal congressmen. For the public reaction against such measures is sure to be vastly hostile, from New Orleans to Milwaukee.

Senators, or two-thirds of them, don't have to worry immediately about the public's hostility, for most of them won't be on the ballot in November. But every member of the House must stand for re-election, of course, and the public won't forget that soon. Many liberal and middle-of-the-road congressmen already are in trouble back home, particularly Democrats. If this bill passes, the Negro organizations won't save representatives in marginal seats who vote for it; indeed, the rising leaders of "Black Power" despise white liberalism in Congress.

**Also there is a gentleman from Alabama, now calling himself a populist rather than a conservative, who will receive a great access of support if the civil rights bill passes: George Wallace. He would ride a crest of reaction higher than ever before—a curious gift by Congress to colored people.**

The public opinion polls now show that Wallace would attract 11 to 15 per cent of the popular vote nationally, and would carry several states. His damage to Republican prospects would be still more impressive: according to the *Christian Science Monitor*'s survey, Wallace would hurt the Republican ticket in 28 states. That's today. Given passage to the civil rights bill, Wallace will be twice as popular. He ought to urge his friends in the House to vote for it.

By demanding everything at once, civil rights zealots may lose the ground they have gained over the past several years.

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# The Domino Theory Is Already Working

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Don't look now, but the "domino theory"—meaning the hypothesis that if South Viet Nam falls to communism, the neighboring nations in Southeast Asia will begin to topple—is already at work as part of the aftermath of the Viet Cong's Tet offensive.

So sure are the Communists that they have shaken the power and the will of the United States to fight it out in South Viet Nam that they are already tipping their hand in Laos, in Cambodia and in Thailand.

The Communists have been the ruling force in eastern Laos for a long time now, controlling the border regions through which their legions move southward before crossing into South Viet Nam from the Ho Chi Minh trail. But, more recently, Communist forces have been overrunning government outposts in northern and central Laos, and are now threatening provincial capitals in the south.

**Forty thousand North Vietnamese troops are at present operating in Laotian territory, which constitutes a lateral "escalation" of the war and makes the domino theory in that part of the world a reality even before the struggle with the American "imperialists" is over.**

In Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, no lover of Americans, has suddenly become vocal in his alarm about the domino theory as it may affect his country. Sen. Fulbright tried to give Secretary of State Dean Rusk a hard time when the latter made certain distinctions between communism in general and "Asian communism" in particular.

And, to give Fulbright some credit which he may not welcome, Rusk had to beat unconvincingly about the barn to justify Soviet Russia's reputation for peaceful intentions toward the West, particularly in the light of its Mediterranean naval policy and its incitation of the Arab mobilization against Israel. But Fulbright couldn't laugh off Prince Sihanouk's many recorded statements that "Asian Communist powers" were trying to promote a Cambodian leftist uprising. Said Sihanouk in a letter:

"The rebellion in Battambang [a Cambodian province] is . . . launched from outside the country. Evidence of this abounds: discovery of propaganda pamphlets in Siamese printed in Peking and carrying the portrait of Mao. This is material handed out by the Thai Patriotic Front—which is subservient to the Chinese—which supplies our rebels with arms and equipment."

In Thailand, on the very same day that Rusk was supplying the documentation of the workings of the domino theory in Cambodia for his senatorial inquisitors, it was announced that Thai troops had destroyed a secret Communist guerrilla camp near the Laotian border. This was the third instance in three weeks of this sort of thing.

The Thai troops have come upon underground passages set up by Communist infiltrators which, if not as deep and complicated as the passages in South Viet Nam, are on the same general order. Luckily the rate of Communist defections in Thailand has been steady. But if the U.S. were to evacuate South Viet Nam, how long would such defections continue? The point is that the Communists have local operatives in northeastern Thailand who are already trying to give that domino a push.

**Since the domino theory is less of a theory than it is a living present reality, the latest tactic of those who think the U.S. has no business in Southeast Asia is to say that it hardly matters whether communism spreads or not.**

Prof. J. K. Galbraith has remarked that all Asian villages are alike no matter who runs them. Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin, a two-time Republican governor of Maryland and a two-time mayor of Baltimore, has said that if East Asia wants communism, it should have it.

So we not only accept the Soviets' promise of "peaceful co-existence" at face value, but a growing number of Americans dismiss as unimportant Nikita Khrushchev's old statement that "peaceful co-existence" does not preclude Russian support of all "wars of liberation." And Dean Rusk, in trying to distinguish between European communism (peaceful) and Asian communism (aggressive), has hardly helped matters, for it is his softness about European communism that has kept Americans from looking at Moscow's support of Asian communism full in its ugly face.

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**PRESS DISTORTION**—Analyzing the ways by which the press often distorts the personality and position of political candidates, the Washington *Post*'s David Broder wrote last week, "I know of few reporters involved in covering the 1964 campaign who would claim now that they painted an accurate portrait of Barry Goldwater and Lyndon Johnson."

# Probing the 'Treason of the Fat Cats'

By FREDERIC NELSON

It may have been extrasensory perception, or just a bellyful of Fulbright, that led me to my files and a folder on "surrender." The contents of the folder concerned a report by Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips that "three nonprofit scientific agencies" were studying "the conditions when surrender would be advisable rather than to continue a war that is already lost." One news dispatch reported that the then President Eisenhower had "blown his top" when he heard of this scientific study and demanded an investigation to determine who had arranged it.

All this happened in 1958, and the occasion on which surrender was hypothesized as a possibility was the virtual obliteration of the U.S.A. by nuclear attack. None of the scientific agencies concerned would have imagined that, come 10 years, surrender by the United States, threatened by nothing but its own irresolution and Red propaganda, would be the "in" thing.

Well, what else is it? "Phased withdrawal," leaving the South Vietnamese to conduct their own defense, substituting diplomacy for "futile" military action, "trying something else" (without saying what), declaring that an attack on an American destroyer must have been an attack *by* the American destroyer (Fulbright), stopping the bombing unconditionally, "negotiate" whether the enemy wants to negotiate or not—all these suggestions come to the same thing, namely, give up.

The question arises: Why is surrender by us so popular among people who were all for "unconditional surrender" when the foe was Hitler? Sen. Eugene McCarthy's popular support probably comes from people who for the first time have seen war close-up on TV, with plenty of emphasis on rough stuff by our side. In 1898 we gave Filipino insurrectos the "water cure," and in subsequent wars prisoners got kicked around and maybe shot, but it wasn't all done in the living room. However, that doesn't explain Fulbright, Wayne Morse, Bobby Kennedy, Sen. McGovern, etc., none of whom ever imagined that war was a genteel business. Nor do I believe that fear of a nuclear attack by the USSR or Red China motivates such sophisticated individuals.

How even a "dove" senator can accuse the U.S. of escalating the conflict—when all we are doing is trying to meet the Communist escalation—is beyond comprehension. "Never do anything to inconvenience the Left" is an old political maxim, but it doesn't seem to fit everybody in the dovecote.

**At the bottom of all this heresy, from Gallup's pollees to Sen. Fulbright, is the failure of the Johnson Administration to tell the people what the Viet Nam war is about.**

We are supposed to believe that we are spending billions of dollars and thousands of lives for the limited purpose of protecting one-half of tiny Viet Nam from the other half. From time to time the Communist bosses to the north are assured by us that we have no intention of invading their territory or upsetting their regime. What became of appealing to the people over the heads of the oppressors? All the oppressors have to do is agree to negotiate and we'll go home.

During his recent harassment by Sen. Fulbright et al., Secretary Rusk did hint that there was a little more to it than that, but even he did not spell out the fact that Viet Nam is just one spot on the Communist schedule for conquest.

Anyway, how could he? If we were serious about resisting Communist aggression, would we be doing our best to "build bridges of understanding" to the center of the spider web, if you'll overlook the mixed metaphor? Would we sign treaties permitting the conspirators to post their agents, labelled as consuls, in American cities? One could go on asking rhetorical questions to get the same answer, which is that Viet Nam is too much of a commitment for the objectives officially advanced. If we aren't concerned about the fate of Asia as a whole, and of our own fate as well, then why not phase out and be done with it?

Of course this bland ignorance isn't all the Johnson Administration's fault. The triumphs of the Left go deeper. The "treason of the intellectuals" is one phase. Sometimes I think the treason of the Fat Cats is worse. Recently I met one, a businessman who had visited Russia as well as most of Eastern Europe. According to him East Berlin was going great guns; West Berlin was an anomoly, a politically created disaster.

"Why," he told me, "those people who were shot trying to go over the Wall were a threat to East Berlin's labor supply. They were just going over there to get higher wages or salaries!"

**I interrupted to say that such was one reason why my Uncle Charlie left rural Maine, but he wasn't listening. Naturally East Berlin had to take measures "to protect its economy."**

"You could say the same thing for the Fugitive Slave Law," I expostulated, but I am a low-key expostulator, and the Fat Cat wasn't to be interrupted. He told me how, one night late in Moscow, after the hotel dining room was closed, he went down the street to a little bar for a sandwich and a cup of coffee. Sure enough, a man from a table nearby came over.

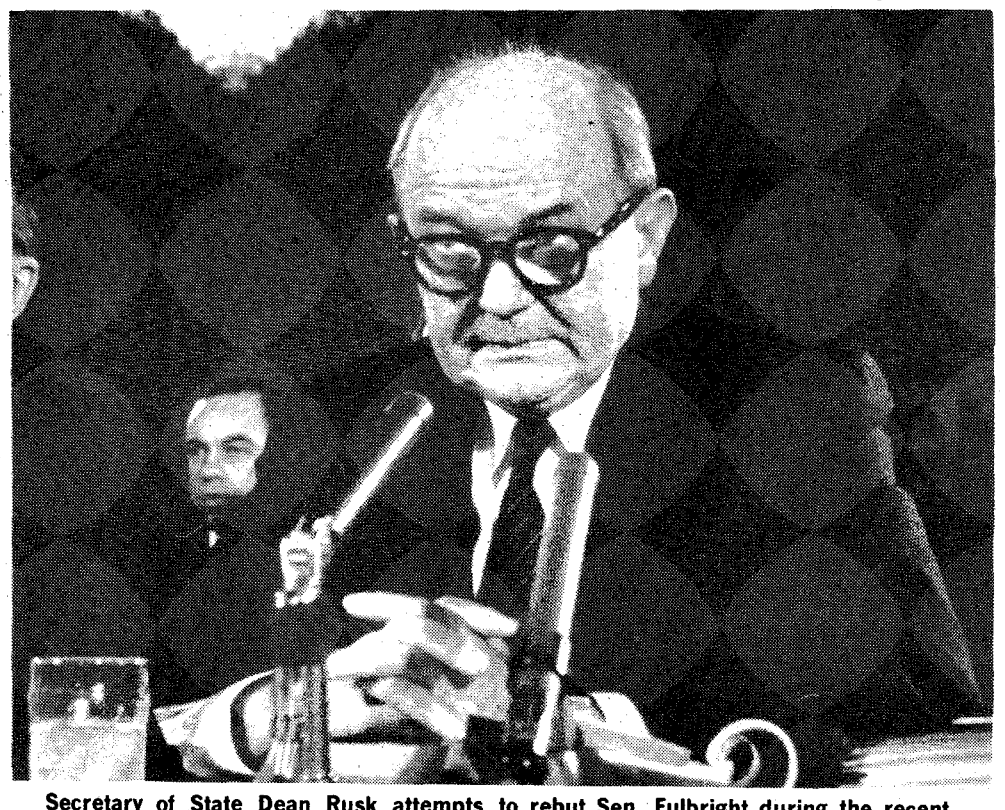
"I assume you are an American" said the Russian, "And I want to propose a toast to friendship between our two countries." Then he said, "I also propose a toast to world peace." He was just an ordinary Soviet citizen who hadn't the foggiest idea who I was, said the Fat Cat. The naivete of Men Who Have Everything is touching indeed.

I didn't suggest that maybe the Soviet citizen mistook him for Cyrus Eaton, because the Fat Cat was a nice man and we were dining with mutual friends, but social urbanity was seldom more severely strained.

The conversation took me back a few years to an executive who used to drop into my office to discuss things. One day he said, "Why are you guys so hipped about Russia? Why, man, the gap between the managerial class and the helots is so much broader than it is here that there's no comparison."

He was right, of course, and he thought it good—assuming, as Fat Cats usually do, that he would be in the managerial group, there as here. Liberty? Something to worry about after the economy has been protected, by shooting dissatisfied troublemakers if necessary.

I apologize for this diversion, but it did strike me as one not insignificant factor in the prevailing dissent.



Secretary of State Dean Rusk attempts to rebut Sen. Fulbright during the recent Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on Viet Nam.



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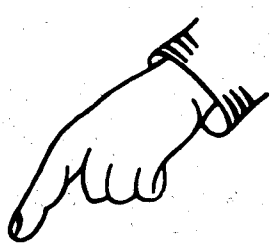

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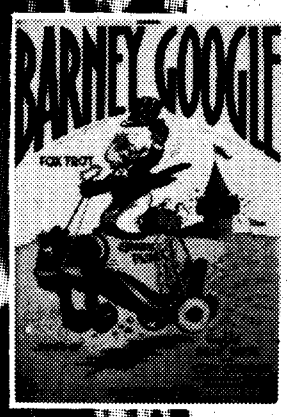


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It's to our interest to attract lots of members to the Club right at the start. So we've arranged to make your Charter Membership worth more in dollars and more in pleasure: At least three times a year, *Charter Members only* will receive either a free surprise book or record . . . or be offered the same at a price much lower than even the Club discount price . . . or be privileged to buy at a good discount a book available *only* to Charter Members, not to ordinary members. • Now—as long as we can keep this offer open—you can take—for just one dollar—a copy of Allen Churchill's wonderful, just-published $9.95 word-and-picture story of 1900-1942, *Remember When*. • Free subscription to *Reminiscing Time*, monthly Club bulletin that not only describes latest Selection and Alternates but carries special yesteryear features sure to start the nostalgia flowing . . . even if you don't buy a book. • Discounts ranging from 20% all the way up to 70%. • Easy commitment. You need buy only 4 Club books over the next *two* years from among the 50 or more we'll offer, after which you may resign at any time. You are free to reject any Selection you don't want on the handy form provided. If you want the monthly Selection, no need to do anything. It will come automatically. • EXTRA! We *guarantee* never to offer a book about Twiggy or the Beatles.

Come on, make some whoopee. It's a cinch to send in the coupon below to Nostalgia Book Club, 525 Main Street, New Rochelle, New York 10801. Do it today. Don't be a dodo.

**NOSTALGIA BOOK CLUB, 525 Main St., New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801**

I'm over 35 years of age and I'm no dumbbell. Sign me on as a Charter Member of your new Club. I get all the Charter Membership privileges described above, such as a special surprise book or record at least 3 times a year; my copy of Allen Churchill's nifty new $9.95 book, *Remember When*, for $1 plus shipping; and my free subscription to *Reminiscing Time*, the monthly Club bulletin that describes current Selections and Alternates and brings me memory-jogging words and pictures from yesteryear. I may buy books at 20% to 70% discounts plus shipping, and I need buy only 4 books over the next 2 years, after which I may resign at any time. I am free to reject any Selection on the form provided. If I want the book I need do nothing; it will come automatically.

*Name* _____

*Address* _____

*City/Zone* _____ *State* _____

☐ PLEASE CHECK HERE if you are under 35—and are the kind of kid who likes to sneak under circus tents. We'll accept you as a Charter Member. But you're on probation.

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